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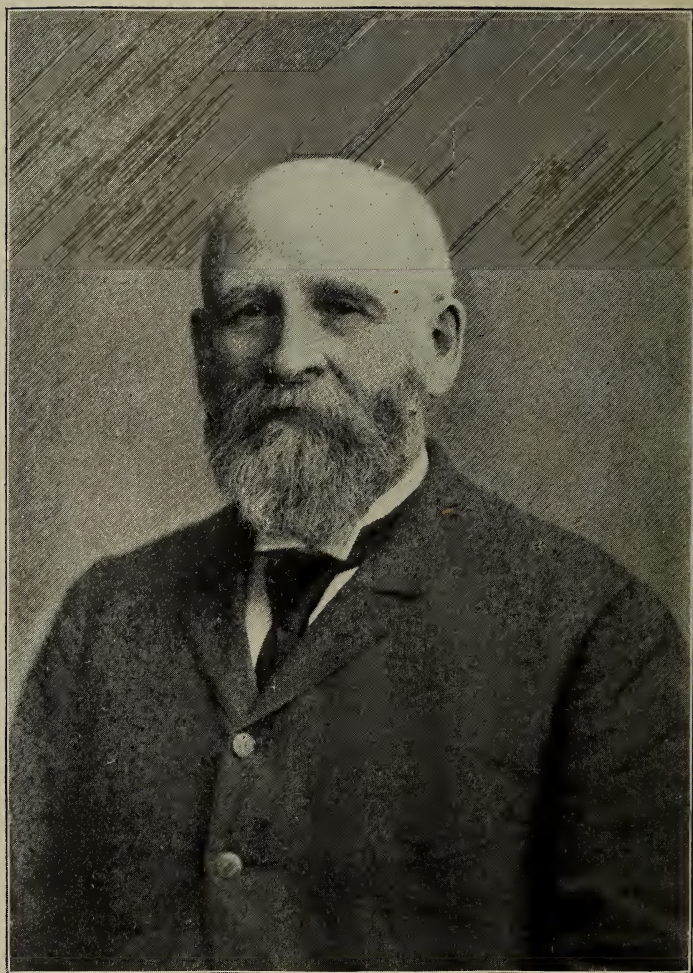
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J. H. SMITH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
COUNTY OF WENTWORTH
AND
THE HEAD OF THE LAKE

BY
J. H. SMITH

PUBLIC SCHOOL INSPECTOR, WENTWORTH COUNTY

HAMILTON

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL.

1897

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PREFACE.

IN 1894, at the June session of the Wentworth County Council, a memorial was presented by the members of "The Wentworth Historical Society," recommending that a prize be offered for a history of the County of Wentworth. In response to this request the sum of one hundred dollars was granted for the best historical essay, and a committee consisting of W. H. Ballard, Esq., M. A., Public School Inspector for the City of Hamilton, Thomas Stock, Esq., Collector of Customs, Dundas, and A. F. Pirie, Esq., Editor of the Dundas True Banner, was appointed to award the prize.

At the solicitation of many of his friends and acquaintances, the writer prepared a paper on this subject and submitted it to this committee for examination. They awarded him the prize, and the essay remained in the possession of the County Council until June, 1896, when it was placed in the hands of the Education Committee to consider the advisability of having it printed. This committee met, and after carefully considering the subject matter of this historical sketch, consulted the writer and requested him to enlarge the scope of the essay by adding some additional matter

bearing upon historical events that had occurred within the limits of the County, but which had not been referred to in the original paper. This he consented to do, and the committee reported in favor of having it published. This report was adopted by the Council, and the essay was accordingly placed in the hands of the Printing Committee for publication. Such in brief is the history of the origin of the present work.

The author is not oblivious to the fact that his work is but imperfectly done. The pressure of his official duties frequently prevented him from devoting the time necessary to make his work as complete as he could wish. He is also aware that many important facts have been omitted, and that much remains to be done before a complete history of this County can be given to the public. However, should time and opportunity permit, he hopes at some future time to revise and enlarge the present work. What has thus far been done is now submitted to the discriminating judgment of the public with the hope that they will be lenient in their criticisms, accept what is worthy of acceptance and lightly scan its shortcomings and defects.

The object which the author has kept constantly in view was to sketch in brief outline the history of the County of Wentworth from its earliest settlement to the present time, and to describe the conditions under which it has developed into one of the most enlightened and progressive counties in Ontario. At this late date considerable difficulty has been

encountered in obtaining accurate and trustworthy information concerning many points of interest associated with these early times, since those who were the principal actors therein, and who laid broad and deep the foundations of its future prosperity have passed to—

“The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveller returns.”

Nor can the somewhat unpleasant feeling be avoided that certain statements may be made that will not be in harmony with what has been accepted by many as truth. Doubtless errors have crept in, but in all sincerity and honesty of purpose a conscientious effort has been made to weigh impartially the evidence for and against each statement, and only what was firmly believed to be true has been recorded.

In presenting this historical narrative it will be expedient to give a brief outline of the early history of Upper Canada. The necessity for this will be apparent when it is borne in mind that the first settlers in this section of country were among the earliest in the Province. Their interests were so closely allied to, and so intimately interwoven with those of the Province at large, that the history of the one is practically the history of the other. When, however, the tide of immigration set in, and the population increased to such an extent that new districts were opened for settlement, the line of cleavage between provincial and local affairs began to show itself quite distinctly. It shall therefore be my aim to follow this line as closely as possible, and consider only

such phases of provincial history as have directly affected the interests of this County.

The author is greatly indebted to the kindness of his friends who have aided him in the collection of material for the preparation of this sketch. The researches of Messrs. B. E. Charlton, of Hamilton, E. B. Biggar, of Toronto, and J. P. Merritt, of St. Catharines, have thrown great light upon many of the important events that occurred during these early times. The writer desires to place on record his grateful appreciation of the services rendered by them in placing these valuable papers at his disposal. Furthermore he returns his warmest acknowledgements to the officials of the Crown Lands Department of Ontario for their uniform courtesy while examining the public records, and to the Spectator Printing Company, of Hamilton, for the use of illustrations and publications under their control.

HAMILTON, February, 1897.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTY OF WENTWORTH.

CHAPTER I.

Jacques Cartier's First Voyage — Second Voyage — Champlain — Joins Hurons Against Iroquois — His Character — LaSalle — Sails for Canada — Estate at LaChine — An Explorer — Joins Dollier and Galinee — Visits Lake Ontario — An Indian Village — Receiving Guests — Torturing a Captive — Visits Niagara — Burlington Bay — Oaklands — Rattlesnakes — Visits Tinatona — Meets Joliet — Separates from Priests — His Life, Work, and Sad Death.

JACQUES CARTIER enjoys the distinguished honor of being the real discoverer of Canada. On the 20th of April, 1534, the first expedition, under his command, sailed from the port of St. Malo, in France. After a long and tedious voyage, extending into July, he landed on the shores of the Peninsula of Gaspé, and took possession of the country in the name of Francis I, King of France. Here he met with many of the natives, and by his generous conduct and fair treatment, won their confidence. They informed him of the existence of a great river leading far into the interior, which no man had traced to its source. He therefore sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence until he could see land on either side, but as winter was rapidly approaching he postponed further explorations until another year, and returned to France.

He embarked on his second voyage under more favorable auspices. His vessels were better equipped, and his men more enthusiastic. The avowed purpose of this expedition was to

open up traffic with the natives, and to form settlements. About the middle of July, his little fleet reached the mouth of the gulf, and on the anniversary of the festival of St. Lawrence, he entered a small bay, to which he gave the name of this saint, a name which has since been applied to both the river and the gulf. In September he reached the Indian village of Stadacona, situated on the shores of the river below the present fortress of Quebec. After a brief sojourn at this point, Cartier, and a portion of his crew, pursued their journey up the river until they arrived at a large island, on which they found the Indian town of Hochelaga. Here they were treated with the greatest kindness, and were most hospitably entertained by the natives. They ascended the beautifully wooded mountain situated a little distance from the town in the rear, and obtained a magnificent view of the surrounding country. To this mountain they gave the name of Mount Royal. At the completion of this short visit they returned to Stadacona, where they remained until spring. During the winter the crew suffered severely from a virulent form of scurvy, the bad effects of which were mitigated by freely using an infusion of spruce boughs. Roberval, a wealthy nobleman of Picardy, made another attempt at colonization, but all these early expeditions proved disastrous failures. For fully fifty years after this last attempt, very little was done in the way of colonizing Canada.

Early in the seventeenth century, Samuel de Champlain was commissioned to join a wealthy merchant of St. Malo, Pontgravé by name, in an attempt to extend the commerce of France, and to establish the Roman Catholic religion among the native tribes. Champlain was a man of superior mental ability, courageous, fond of adventure, and an enthusiast in religion. Of him it might be truly said, "that the zeal of the missionary tempered the fire of the soldier." Many times during his administration he had occasion to visit France in the interests of the colonists.

On his return from one of these periodical visits, he learned that a band of the Huron and Algonquin chiefs had decided to

make war upon the Iroquois. Believing that he could do the colony good service, and strengthen the friendly feeling that existed between the Indian tribes and the French, he, with a few companions, joined the warlike expedition. They first visited the Hurons in their chief towns on the Georgian Bay. After the usual feasting and dancing which the Indians indulged in on such occasions, they started on their expedition, following the natural waterways through central Ontario until they reach the Bay of Quinte. Here they crossed Lake Ontario, and soon found themselves face to face with their inveterate enemies. This expedition proved disastrous to the Hurons and Algonquins, and Champlain earned for himself and his fellow colonists the lasting enmity of the Iroquois.

Champlain's name is enrolled high among the heroes of Canada, for his achievements had given additional lustre to the fair fame of his adopted country. In 1608, he founded 'the City of Quebec. He afterwards discovered Lakes Huron, Simcoe and Ontario, and was the first white man to sail on that beautiful sheet of water which now bears his honored name. As a man, he was greatly esteemed for the justice of his dealings, for his devotion to his country, and for his jealous interest in the diffusion of Christianity among the native tribes.

LaSalle is a name that is quite familiar to every student of Canadian history. His parents were wealthy, and lived on an estate near the City of Rouen, in France. Here he was born in 1643. It was a custom among the wealthy French people of that time to attach the name of their estate to the various members of their families. Hence we find that his name in full was *Rènè-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de LaSalle*, LaSalle being the name of their estate. In his youth he received such an education as naturally befitted his position in society. Nature had endowed him with fine mental powers, and these were developed by judicious study. The bent of his mind was towards mathematics, in which he became quite proficient.

It is said, and it is probably true, that in his early life he was connected with the Jesuits. Be this as it may, it is quite evident that his natural temperament would not suffer him to

become a mere passive instrument in the hands of others and submit his will to theirs. On the contrary, his strong individuality, his self-control, and his self-reliance, as well as his natural pride, fitted him to lead and command rather than to follow and obey. His busy mind demanded action, and his ambition urged him forward. His attention was directed to Canada, where he had an elder brother, a priest in the Seminary of St. Sulpice. This doubtless influenced him in deciding to try his fortunes in the new world. His father having died about this time, he received from his estate a yearly allowance, which he capitalized, and in the spring of 1666 bade farewell to France and sailed for Canada.

Shortly after his arrival in Canada, he obtained from the Seminary of St. Sulpice, a large tract of land situated some eight or nine miles from Montreal, at a place afterwards called LaChine. He induced a number of people to settle here, and began to improve his estate by laying out and building a palisaded town. The situation was a desirable one when viewed in connection with the development of the fur trade, but had the serious drawback of being very much exposed to the frequent attacks of marauding bands of Indians. His intercourse with these native tribes soon convinced him that a knowledge of their language was a necessity. Hence he began to study it. In less than two years he had become quite proficient in some seven or eight of their dialects. While thus engaged he obtained a vast fund of useful information concerning the interior of the continent. This awakened in him a new ambition, and he determined to visit these far away lands.

To accomplish the purpose on which he had set his heart, he proceeded to Quebec and obtained an audience with the Governor, DeCourcelle, and with the intendant, Talon. They readily acceded to his request, and gave him authority to proceed immediately with his explorations. He at once sold his possessions, and with the proceeds fitted out an expedition. In the meantime the authorities of the Seminary of St. Sulpice had decided to send some of their priests on a mission to the populous tribes of the Northwest. Dollier de Casson, one of

their number, was put in charge of this expedition. In his youth he had been trained as a soldier, under Marshal Turenne, and therefore was well qualified to take command. He possessed great physical strength, had a commanding presence, and was a man of undaunted courage. With him was associated another priest, Galinee by name, who was a skilful surveyor, and an astronomer of no little repute. On the advice of the Governor, these two expeditions were merged into one, with LaSalle in command.

This joint expedition, consisting of twenty-four men in seven canoes, accompanied by a party of Senecas in two canoes, who acted as guides, left LaChine on the 6th of July, 1669, and proceeded on a long and uneventful journey up the St. Lawrence. On the 2nd of August they reached Lake Ontario, which seemed to them like a great sea. Eight days later they entered a bay on the south side of the lake, and landed in the country controlled by the Iroquois. The description of the remainder of their journey is given in the language of Galinee, the historian of the expedition.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF GALINEE.*

“After 35 days of very difficult navigation we arrived at a small river called by the Indians Karontagonat (the Iroquois name for Irondequoit Bay), which is the nearest point on the lake to Sonantouan, and about one hundred leagues southwest of Montreal. I took the latitude of this place on the 26th of August, 1669, with my jacobstaff. As I had a very fine horizon on the north, no land but the open lakes being visible in that direction, I took the altitude on that side as being the least liable to error.

“We had no sooner arrived at this place than we were visited by a number of Indians, who came to make us small presents of Indian corn, pumpkins, blackberries and whortleberries, fruits of which they had abundance. We made presents in return of knives, awls, needles, glass beads, and other

* Quoted from a paper prepared by B. E. Charlton, Esq., of Hamilton.

articles which they prize, and with which we were well provided.

"Our guides urged us to remain in this place till the next day, as the chief would not fail to come in the evening with provisions to escort us to the village. In fact, night had no sooner come than a large troop of Indians, with a number of women loaded with provisions, arrived and encamped near by, and made for us bread of Indian corn and fruit. They did not desire to speak to us in regular council, but told us that we were expected in the village, to every cabin of which word had been sent, to gather all the old men at the council, which would be held for the purpose of ascertaining the object of our visit.

"M. Dollier de Casson, M. de LaSalle and myself, consulted together in order to determine in what manner we should act, what we should offer for presents, and how we should give them. It was agreed that I should go to the village with M. de LaSalle, for the purpose of obtaining a captive taken from the nation which we desired to visit who could conduct us thither, and that we should take with us eight of our Frenchmen, the rest to remain with M. Dollier de Casson in charge of the canoes. This plan was carried out, and the next day, August 12, had no sooner dawned, than we were notified by the Indians that it was time to set out. We started with ten Frenchmen and forty or fifty Indians, who compelled us to rest every league, fearing we should be too much fatigued. About half way we found another company of Indians who had come to meet us. They made us presents of provisions and accompanied us to the village. When we were within about a league of the latter the halts were more frequent, and our company increased more and more, until we finally came in sight of the great village, which is in a large plain, about two leagues in circumference. In order to reach it we had to ascend a small hill (now Broughton Hill) on the edge of which the village is situated.

"As soon as we had mounted the hill we saw a large company of old men seated on the grass, waiting for us. They

had left a convenient place in front, in which they invited us to sit down.

"This we did, and at the same time an old man, nearly blind, and so infirm that he could hardly support himself, arose, and in a very animated tone, delivered a speech, in which he declared his joy at our arrival; that we must consider them as our brothers; that they would regard us as theirs; and in that relation they invited us to enter their village, where they had prepared a cabin for us until we were ready to disclose our purpose.

"We thanked them for their civilities, and told them through our interpreter that we would on the next day declare to them the object of our expedition. This done, an Indian, who officiated as master of ceremonies, came to conduct us to our lodgings.

"We followed him and he led us to the largest cabin in the village, which they had prepared for our residence, giving orders to the women belonging to it not to let us want for anything. In truth they were at all times very faithful during our sojourn, in preparing our food and in bringing the wood necessary to afford us light over night.

"This village, like those of the Indians, is nothing but a collection of cabins, surrounded with palisades 12 or 13 feet high, bound together at the top and supported at the base, behind the palisade, by large masses of wood at the height of a man. The curtains are not otherwise flanked, but form a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not any protection. Besides this, the precaution is seldom taken to place them on the bank of a stream, or near a spring, but on some hill, where ordinarily they are quite distant from water.

"On the evening of the 12th we saw all the other chiefs arrive so as to be in readiness for the council which was to be held next day."

Here follows an interesting account of the council meeting, and of their stay of ten days in the village.

Continuing the narrative he says: "During this interval the Indians obtained some brandy from the Dutch at New

Holland, and many times the relatives of the person who had been killed at Montreal a few days before we left there, threatened in their intoxication to despatch us with their knives. In the meantime we kept so well on our guard that we escaped all injury.

“During this interval I saw the saddest spectacle I had ever witnessed. I was informed that evening that some warriors had arrived with a prisoner, and had placed him in a cabin near our own. I went to see him and found him seated with three women who vied with each other in bewailing the death of a relation who had been killed in the skirmish in which the prisoner had been captured. He was a young man 18 or 20 years old, very well formed, whom they had clothed from head to foot since his arrival.

“I thought, therefore, that I would have an opportunity to demand him for our guide, as they said he was one of the Tongenhas (probably from Ohio). I then went to M. de LaSalle for that purpose, who told me that these Indians were men of their word, that since they had promised us a captive they would give us one, that it mattered little whether it was this one or another, and it was useless to press them. I therefore gave myself no further trouble about it. Night came on and we retired.

“The next day no sooner dawned than a large company entered our cabin to tell us that the captive was about to be burned, and that he asked to see the Frenchman.

“I ran to the public place to see him, and found he was already on the scaffold, where they had bound him hand and foot to a stake. I was surprised to hear him utter some Algonquin words which I knew, although from the manner in which he pronounced them they were hardly recognizable. He made me comprehend at last that he desired his execution should be postponed until the next day. I conversed with the Iroquois through our interpreter, who told me that the captive had been given to an old woman in the place of her son who had been killed, that she could not bear to see him alive, and all the family took such a deep interest in his suffering that

they would not postpone his torture. The irons were already in the fire to torment the poor wretch.

“On my part I told the interpreter to demand him in place of the captive they had promised, and I would make a present to the old woman to whom he belonged, but he was not at any time willing to make the proposition, alleging that such was not their custom, and the affair was of too serious a nature.

“I even used threats to induce him to say what I desired, but in vain, for he was as obstinate as a Dutchman and ran away to avoid me.

“I then remained alone near the poor sufferer who saw before him the instruments of his torture. I endeavored to make him understand that he could have no recourse but to God, and that he should pray to him thus: ‘Thou, who hast made all things, have pity on me. I am sorry not to have obeyed Thee, but if I should live, I will obey Thee in all things.’

“He understood me better than I expected. In the meantime I saw the principal relatives of the deceased approach him with a gun barrel, half of which was heated red hot. This obliged me to withdraw. I retired, therefore, with sorrow, and had scarcely turned away when the barbarous Iroquois applied the red hot gun barrel to the top of his feet, which caused the poor wretch to utter a loud cry. This turned me about and I saw the Iroquois, with a grave and sober countenance, apply the iron slowly along his feet and legs, and some old men were smoking around the scaffold, and all the young people leaped with joy to witness the contortions which the severity of the heat caused the poor sufferer.

“While these events were transpiring, I retired to the cabin where we lodged, full of sorrow at not being able to save the poor captive, and it was then that I realized, more than ever, the importance of not venturing too far among the people of this country, without knowing their language, or being certain of obtaining an interpreter.

“As I was in my cabin, praying to God, and very sad, M. de LaSalle came and told me he was apprehensive that, in the excitement he saw prevailing in the village, they would in-

sult us—that many would become intoxicated that day, and he had finally resolved to return to the place where we had left the canoes, and the rest of our people.

“We told the seven or eight of our people who were there with us, to withdraw for the day to a small village, half a league from the large one where we were, for fear of some insult, and M. de LaSalle and myself went to find M. Dollier de Casson, six leagues from the village. There were some of our people barbarous enough to be willing to witness, from beginning to end, the torture of the poor prisoner, and who reported to us the next day, that his entire body had been burned with red hot irons for the space of six hours; that there was not the least spot left that had not been roasted. After that they had required him to run six courses past the place where the Iroquois were waiting for him, armed with burning clubs, with which they goaded and beat him to the ground when he attempted to join them.

“Many took kettles full of coals and hot ashes, with which they covered him, as soon as, by reason of fatigue and debility, he wished to take a moment’s repose. At length, after two hours of this barbarous diversion, they knocked him down with a stone, and throwing themselves upon him, cut his body in pieces. One carried off his head, another his arm, a third some other member, which they put in the pot for a feast.

“Many offered some to the Frenchmen, telling them there was nothing in the world better to eat, but no one desired to try the experiment.

“During our stay at that villiage we inquired particularly about the road we must take in order to reach the Ohio river; and they all told us to go in search of it from Sonnontaoun. That it required six days’ journey by land.¹

“This induced us to believe that we could not possibly reach it in that way, as we would hardly be able to carry, for so long a journey, our necessary provisions, much less our baggage. But they told us at the same time, that in going to find

(1) The route they proposed to take was probably up the Genessee river to one of its sources crossing from thence to the head waters of the Alleghany river.

it by way of Lake Erie in canoes, we would have only a three days' portage before arriving at that river.

"We were relieved from our difficulties in regard to a guide, by the arrival from the Dutch of an Indian who lodged in our cabin. He belonged to a village of one of the five Iroquois nations, which is situated at the end of Lake Ontario, for the convenience of hunting the deer and the bear, which are abundant in that vicinity. This Indian assured us that we would have no trouble in finding a guide—that a number of captives of the nations we desired to visit were there, and he would very cheerfully conduct us thither.

"After departing we found a river¹ one eighth of a league broad and extremely rapid, forming the outlet or communication from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The depth of the river (for it is properly the St. Lawrence), is at this place extraordinary, for on sounding close by the shore we found fifteen or sixteen fathoms of water. This outlet is forty leagues long, and has, for ten or twelve leagues above its embouchure into Lake Ontario, one of the finest cataracts or falls of water in the world, for all the Indians of whom I have enquired about it, say that the river falls at that place from a rock higher than the tallest pines, that is about two hundred feet. In fact we heard it from the place where we were, although from ten to twelve leagues distant, but the fall gives such a momentum to the water, that its velocity prevented our ascending the current by rowing, except with great difficulty.² At a quarter of a league from the outlet where we were, it grows narrower, and its channel is confined between two very high, steep, rocky banks, inducing the belief that the navigation would be very difficult up to the cataract. As to the river above the falls, the current very often sucks into this gulf, from a great distance,

(1) Niagara. This is said to be the only word in our language derived from the Neuters.

(2) Galinee's description of the falls is probably the earliest on record. His account, which is wholly derived from the Indians, is remarkably correct. If they had been visited by the Jesuits, prior to the time of this expedition, they have failed to relate the fact, or to describe them in their journals. The Niagara river is alluded to under the name of Ongniaehra, as the celebrated river of the Neuter nation, but no mention is made of the cataract.

deer and stags, elk and roebucks, that suffered themselves to be drawn from such a point in crossing the river, that they are compelled to descend the falls, and to be overwhelmed in its frightful abyss.

"Our desire to reach the village called Otinaoutawa prevented our going to view that wonder, which I consider is so much the greater in proportion, as the river St. Lawrence is one of the largest in the world. I will leave you to judge if that is not a fine cataract into which all the water in that river having its mouth three leagues broad,¹ falls from a height of 200 feet, with a noise that is heard not only at the place where we were, 10 or 12 leagues distant, but also from the other side of Lake Ontario, opposite its mouth, where M. Trouve told me he had heard it.

"We passed the river, and finally, at the end of five days' travel, arrived at the extremity of Lake Ontario, where there is a fine large sandy bar,² at the end of which is an outlet of another small lake, which is there discharged.

"Into this our guide conducted us about half a league, to a point nearest the village, but distant from it some five or six leagues, and where we unloaded our canoes.³

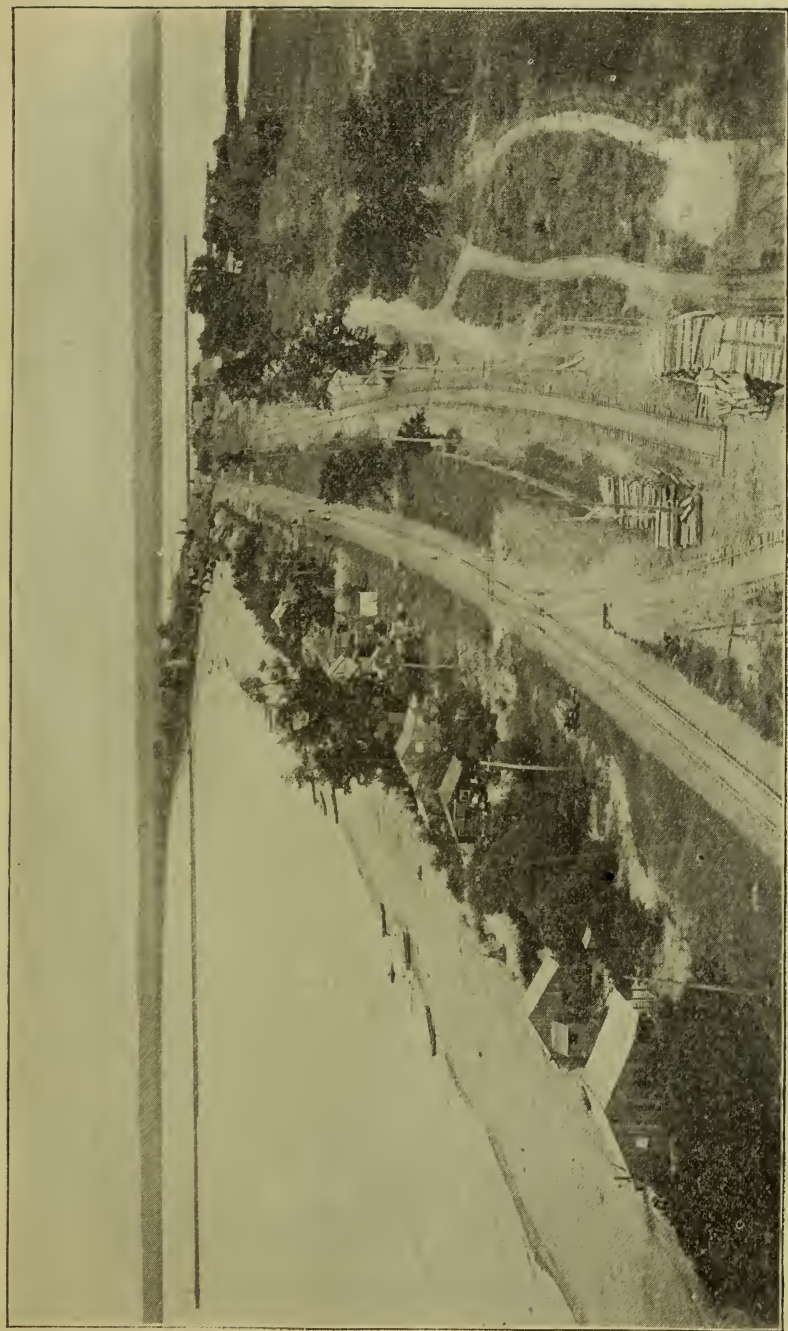
"We waited there until the chief of the village came to meet us with some men to carry our effects. M. de LaSalle was seized, while hunting, with a severe fever, which in a few days reduced him very low.

"Some said it was caused by the sight of three large rattlesnakes which he had encountered on his way while ascending a rocky eminence. At any rate it is certain that it is a very ugly spectacle, for those animals are not timid like other serpents, but firmly wait for a person, quickly assuming an offensive attitude, coiling half the body from the tail to the middle as if it were a large cord, keeping the remainder entirely straight, and darting forward, sometimes three to four paces, all the time making a loud noise with the rattle which it

(1) At the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

(2) The Indian name for Burlington Beach is "Deonasadeo," and means "Where the sand forms a bar."

(3) Oaklands.



View of Burlington Beach ("Head of the Lake"), taken from the Chimney of the Power House of the Hamilton Radial Electric Railway.

carries at the end of its tail. There are many in this place as large as the arm, six or seven feet long, and entirely black. It vibrates its tail very rapidly, making a sound like a quantity of melon or gourd seeds shaken in a box."

[When the early settlers first came here, rattlesnakes were very plentiful, especially along the escarpment that forms the northern boundary of the Dundas valley and extends northward through Halton. So numerous were they that it became necessary each returning spring to organize hunting parties to destroy these dangerous neighbors. When the warm spring sun began to awaken slumbering nature, these snakes, aroused from their winter sleep, issued forth from the crevices in the rocks. On the projecting ledges on sunny days they might be seen gathered together in heaps varying in height from one to two feet, and here they lay basking in the sunshine. It was at these times that the hunting parties visited the mountain side, and with muskets loaded with slugs or coarse shot, fired into these piles and destroyed them by hundreds. Some of the more venturesome hunters, armed with clubs, descended to the ledges, and as the snakes retreated to their dens grasped them by their tails, dragged them from the crevice, and with a quick blow killed them instantly. Sometimes, however, these snakes were not drawn forth by the first effort. Then it was wise to let them go as they would immediately turn and strike. It was in this manner that large numbers of these venomous reptiles were destroyed.]

"At length after waiting three days, the chiefs and some fifty Indians and squaws came to see us.

"We gave presents to obtain two captive slaves, and a third for carrying our effects into the village. The savages made us two presents. The first of fourteen or fifteen deer-skins, to assure us they were going to conduct us to their village, the second of about 5,000 shell beads, and afterwards, two captives for guides. One of them belonged to the Codonas (Shawnees), and the other to the Nez Perces. They were both excellent hunters, and seemed to be well disposed. Con-

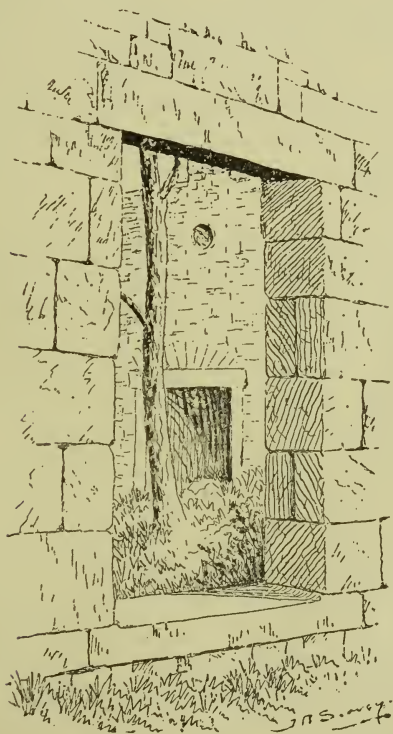
ducted by the Indians we proceeded to the village of Otinaoutawa, arriving there on the 24th Sept., 1669."

LaSalle and his companions left this village about the 1st of October, and pursued their journey across what are now the townships of East and West Flamboro', to the Indian town of Tinatona, near the eastern boundary of Beverly. Here they met Joliet who had been sent to explore the copper mines of Lake Superior, and who was now on his return journey. To avoid hostile tribes he followed the Indian trails from Detroit by way of the Grand River to Burlington Bay. From Joliet the priests Dollier and Galinee obtained much valuable information about the tribes on the upper lakes. This caused them to change their plans. They determined to visit these tribes, and, with this object in view, followed the Grand River to Lake Erie, proceeded along the northern shore of this lake to the site of the present town of Port Dover. Here they spent the winter. In the spring they visited these Northwest tribes and returned to Montreal in the autumn.

The plans of LaSalle differed from those of the priests, and the two parties separated. He desired to reach the Ohio; they, the tribes of the Northwest. Tradition says that one of the men accompanying this expedition fell in love with the daughter of an Indian chief, and cast in his lot with the tribe to which she belonged. She, it seems, had an Indian lover who became madly jealous of his white rival. This brave disappeared for several months still nursing his passion. On his return, he sought for—and found—his white rival, whom he ruthlessly shot while in company with his dusky sweetheart. This incident is said to have occurred in the immediate vicinity of Webster's Falls, in West Flamboro'.

What course the intrepid LaSalle pursued immediately after this separation is veiled in obscurity. He continued his explorations over the continent, assisted in building the Griffin, the first vessel to sail on Lake Erie, established a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, and claims to have discovered the Ohio. Being of a haughty and overbearing disposition, he soon earned

the hearty dislike of his subordinates. This increased until it developed into a bitter hatred. A conspiracy was formed, and in the prime of his manhood—at the early age of forty-three—he was foully murdered. Thus closed the career of one of the greatest explorers that ever visited this continent.



CHAPTER II.

The Indians — Their Towns — Their Houses — Their Food — Cannibals — Art of Carving — Art of Pottery — Use of Metals — Copper Tools — Manner of Warfare — Fortified Towns — One in Beverly Scene of a Great Tribal Battle — Another in East Flamboro' — Indian Town of Tinatona — Town near Troy — Town in Ancaster — Camping Grounds — Game — Indian Town near Lake Medad — Why called Lake Medad — Ossuaries — Relics — Axes — Feasts of the Dead as Described by a Jesuit Missionary — The Mourners — The Funeral Rites — The Hurons — The Iroquois — The Neuters — Character of the Iroquois — Six Nation Indians — Private Collections of Indian Antiquities.

WHEN America was first discovered by Europeans the inhabitants along the coast were called Indians, from the supposition that Columbus had reached India. This name was ever after applied to all the aborigines found scattered over the continent. These people were nomadic in their habits and very naturally formed themselves into tribes or nations. These tribes varied in size from 200 to 500 persons, and lived in villages or towns. Sometimes a number of these tribes were formed into a confederacy as in the case of the Hurons, Algonquins and Iroquois. The tribes forming a confederacy were grouped into adjacent villages, and spoke a common language. In these villages the houses were built sufficiently near to each other to enable the inhabitants to be called together quickly in cases of emergency. These houses, usually called wigwams, were constructed of bark, the skins of animals, or were rudely thatched with reeds and grass. In every village there was a council chamber or place of assemblage, which was a larger and more pretentious building than any of the others.

The common belief that the Indians obtained their food supply almost exclusively from the chase is true only to a limited

extent. Agriculture in a crude form was practiced by them, and they depended fully as much upon this source as they did upon fishing and hunting. In this section of country corn was evidently cultivated, as may be seen from the charred remains of this grain found in considerable quantities in the ashes of their camp fires. An abundance of sugar was obtained from the maple, sunflowers were cultivated for their seed, and every variety of edible wild fruit was used. The Indian's bill of fare was by no means a meagre one. Some of the tribes knew of many ways of preparing grain for food. Such names as hominy, samp, pone, and succotash are all derived from the language of the eastern tribes. Moreover many stones¹ are found that have evidently been used for grinding corn.

Cannibals² in the proper sense of that word are not found among the tribes north of Mexico. It is true that they occasionally ate human flesh, but it was more as an act of savage vengeance, or from a desire to acquire the qualities of the dead person, than it was as a result of a custom among them.

We have but little positive knowledge of the early development of art among these uncivilized tribes. It is certain, however, that in later times they showed no small amount of skill in carving and in the manufacture of pottery. The antiquarian who has searched the sites of their ancient towns and villages is frequently rewarded by finding some very interesting relics. These consist largely of arrow heads, spear points, skinning tools, scrapers for preparing the skins of animals for use, grooved

(1) A number of these stones have been found in Beverly and a few in Binbrook. They are sometimes spoken of as "Hominy Mills." The stones from which they are made are hollowed out so as to form a shallow cavity, in which the corn is placed. A stone pestle is used to pulverize the grains of corn.

(2) On lot 7 in the 13th concession of East Flamboro,' now owned by Mr. John Revell, a large camping ground was recently discovered, in which there was a bed of ashes fully five feet in depth. This camping ground was covered with heavy timber and must therefore have been a very old resort, which doubtless belonged to the Neutral nation. When this bed of ashes was carefully examined it was found to contain many valuable relics. Near the top were glass beads, brass kettles and other evidences of contact with Europeans. Farther down the relics were of bone and stone or pottery, while at the bottom human bones were found. As the Indians were very careful of the remains of their own dead, it is only fair to infer that these bones were the remains of their enemies who had been captured and eaten. This corroborates the statements made about cannibal Indians in this part of the Province.

axes, gouges, as well as a great variety of ornaments for the person, pipes, totems, and gaming and ceremonial stones. Many of them show considerable skill in carving.

Nor yet was the art of the potter unknown to them. In the earlier stages of its development their attempts were limited to the manufacture of pipes and pots. These were made from the native clays, which were sometimes tempered with broken quartz, shells, and other materials, and were baked in the open fire or in rudely constructed furnaces. With the advance of culture there came also an advance in this art and more ambitious pieces devoted to sacred and ceremonial uses were attempted. Special attention was given to the decoration of these, and on some are found symbols and representations of the deities to which they were dedicated. So far no specimens have been found which clearly prove that they possessed any knowledge of glazing, although they gave a very fine polish to many of their better works of art.

The North American Indians were slowly emerging from the age of stone when the European explorers first came in contact with them. They had therefore but little knowledge of the value and uses of metals. Still there were very few tribes that did not possess some implements and ornaments of metal, which were made either from copper or gold. What little knowledge they had was obtained largely by contact with the more civilized tribes inhabiting Mexico and Central America. Along the shores of Lake Superior there are still to be seen numerous mining pits from which copper ore had been taken. In removing the accumulated debris from these pits great numbers of heavy stone sledges were discovered. Evidently these had been used to break the ore into pieces of convenient size for transportation. Their manner of reducing these ores was either by hammering or swaging, for there is no evidence that they had any knowledge of smelting. A variety of ornaments, as well as such useful articles as knives, chisels, axes, needles and arrowheads, were made from these ores. Occasionally some of these copper implements are found. A copper chisel, which experts say was tempered hard like steel,

was found on a farm belonging to Mr. A. Humphrey, who lives a short distance north of the Village of Troy in Beverly. This chisel is now in the museum of the Canadian Institute, Toronto.

The higher art of war as practised by civilized nations is very different from that practised by the Indians. The plan of grouping men together in companies and regiments, drilling them in all the tactics and manœuvres of the battlefield, and acting in concert under the command of one man, was unknown to them. They fought singly and made use of trees and other obstacles as places of concealment from their enemies. Formal declarations of war were seldom made. When any tribe had decided to attack another tribe a band of warriors was despatched on their murderous errand. Under cover of darkness they approached their victims with stealthy tread, or in canoes propelled by silent paddles, and ruthlessly destroyed them. Usually all those who failed to make good their escape were put to death, but sometimes the captives taken were reserved for torture. Their weapons of offence consisted of plain clubs, clubs with conical shaped stones attached as heads, battle axes, a kind of club in which sharp chips of some very hard stone were inserted, spears, which were hurled with terrible effect from throwing sticks, bows and arrows, slung shots and scalping knives. To protect themselves from the missiles hurled by their foes, shields made of heavy skins were used, and in some cases coats of armor.

Many of their villages were protected by palisades, a rude fortification consisting of one or more rows of strong stakes or posts lashed together and set firmly in the ground perpendicularly or obliquely for the greater security of the position.

The sites of two of these fortified villages have been found in Wentworth, one in Beverly and one in East Flamboro'. Mr. Wallace McDonald informed the writer that in 1838 when he and his brother began clearing the northern part of lot 26 in the 8th concession of Beverly, they discovered the site of an old Indian village that had evidently been protected by palisades. While clearing up some new ground as they aptly called it,

they observed here and there the ends of some small logs projecting out of the ground. This naturally arrested their attention and upon making a more thorough survey they were able to trace quite clearly the outlines of this fortified village. It was roughly estimated to contain between five and six acres, and was in the form of an irregular circle. The location was a very desirable one, for it was situated on a rising piece of ground adjacent to a beautiful stream of water, which is still noted as one of the famous trout streams of that township. About a mile or so distant there was one of the largest beaver meadows known in this section of country.

The village was evidently a stronghold of considerable importance to the native tribes. Besides numerous relics, such as pipes, beads, wampum, totems and other mementos of Indian life, upwards of 300 iron tomahawks have been found. From this it would appear to be within the limits of probability that in this place one of the great tribal battles had been fought. There is a tradition prevalent that such a battle was fought somewhere in the neighborhood of Westover, but the exact location is largely a matter of conjecture. As far as can be ascertained at the present time, no graves or burial places have been discovered in the immediate vicinity. Great beds of ashes three and four feet in depth have been found in different parts of this village. A large number of bones partly burned, as well as a considerable quantity of the charred remains of corn and corn-cobs have been found in these ash pits.

Another fortified village was located on lot 12 in the 10th concession of East Flamboro', and now owned by Mr. John Hood. When this farm was cleared the remains of the posts and timbers forming the barricade were still to be seen. Near by were some burial pits from which were taken French axes, iron tomahawks, brass kettles, brass arrow tips, and these in larger quantities than from any other camping ground in this township. This site is situated about five miles east of the Indian village near Valen's, in Beverly.

About a mile east of Westover, in the 6th concession of Beverly, is the site of one of the most important of these Indian

towns. No traces, however, of the remains of any palisade have been found, from which fact we would infer that it had not been fortified. On an adjoining hill a number of burial pits have been discovered. These have been very thoroughly searched, and many valuable relics obtained. General John S. Clarke, of Auburn, N. Y., a distinguished student of Indian history, identifies this place as the Indian town of Tinatona, celebrated as the meeting place of LaSalle and Joliet in 1669.

On the banks of Fairchild's Creek, a short distance west of the village of Troy is apparently the site of another of these villages. Here many valuable relics have been found, one of which is a highly polished stone pipe, perfect in form, with a number of tally marks cut on the stem. It is supposed that these marks are a record of the number of scalps taken by the owner of this pipe, who was doubtless a chief of one of the principal tribes. It is now in the possession of Dr. J. O. McGregor, of Waterdown.

In 1829, when Mr. F. G. Snider was clearing lot 34 in the 4th concession of Ancaster, he discovered the site of one of these Indian towns. Near by on a ridge, a little to the northwest, a large ossuary was found from which many valuable relics were obtained. These were given to the Rev. Dr. McMurray, Rector of Ancaster and Dundas, who afterwards presented them to the museum in the old town of Niagara.

In the district surrounding the head of Lake Ontario, fully fifty camping grounds have been located. The existence of these is an evidence that this section of country was a favorite resort for these nomadic tribes. Doubtless they were attracted here by the great abundance of game. If we are to give credence to the stories told by the early settlers, herds of deer, containing from 50 to 100 head, roamed at will, and could be seen feeding together, while waterfowl of all kinds almost literally covered that marshy lake lying west of Burlington Heights. The streams abounded with speckled trout, and the lake furnished salmon and whitefish in the greatest profusion. In short this whole region might well be called a terrestrial paradise.¹

(1) See Wm. Bates' letter in last chapter.

The following graphic description of one of these Indian villages is from the pen of Mr. B. E. Charlton, of Hamilton, who is a diligent student of the manners and customs of these interesting people :

“ This Indian village, (Otinaoutawa) appears to have been situated on the borders of a small lake in the township of Nelson, about ten miles from Hamilton, known as Lake Medad,¹ not far beyond Waterdown. Some seven years ago, the writer having learned that an ancient Indian ossuary or bone pit had been discovered at this point, through the burrowing of a small animal called a wood-chuck, had the curiosity to visit the place, and found it a most interesting one. The lake itself, a pretty sheet of water of some eight acres in extent, is fed by abundant natural springs. On one side, beneath an abrupt, rocky bank, and from a rocky basin which may have been widened and cleared of loose stones ages ago, bursts out a noble spring of clear, cold water, sufficient in capacity to supply the wants of a small city. A steep pathway cut deeply into the rock and earthy embankment by the feet of both wild animals and Indians in prehistoric times, leads from the spring up to a sloping plain of considerable extent, on which as yet but little modern civilization has been accomplished.

“ You can see scattered over this slope curious rounded heaps of about forty to one hundred feet long and ten wide. A spade at once reveals that they are heaps of ashes, containing many fragments of Indian pottery, bones of animals, and broken weapons. On a portion of the plain Indian corn had probably been cultivated. Here at some distant period had evidently been situated an important Indian town of the Neuter nation. This tribe, as before mentioned, occupied the country between the Niagara and the Detroit rivers. In their wars with the Indians of Michigan they acted with more ferocious cruelty than even the Hurons or Iroquois, roasting and eating their prisoners of war of both sexes. The men going without clothing of any kind in summer. Their time of destruction,

(1) Medad Parsons was the owner of the farm on which this lake is situated. It was formerly called Medad's Lake, which has been changed to Lake Medad.

however, followed quickly upon that of the Hurons, for after the slaughter of the latter, the Iroquois turned all their fury upon the Neuters and left no survivors whatever.

“Proceeding to the highest point of the plain quite at one side of the clusters of ash heaps, were discovered the ossuaries. They consisted of three pits. One measuring forty feet long by seventeen wide, and five in depth, and the two others circular about twelve feet in diameter and seven feet in depth. Upon the former were two large pine stumps, the rings of growths of the larger numbering 125. All these pits were situated within a few yards of each other. In them were found partially decayed bones of several hundreds of persons of all ages, together with many curious articles, such as some thirty copper and brass kettles, varying in size from three to twenty-six inches in diameter, containing in one case two skeletons; in another a small bronze spoon, in several others the dust of a wooden spoon, and traces of food. Also eight or ten large tropical shells, brought probably from the coast of Florida, and evidently used in the manufacture of antique shell beads or wampum.

“Many hundreds of these shell beads were also obtained, together with beads made from porcelain, glass, stone, baked clay, obsidian, shale, etc., some round, others square, others oblong, and several inches in length, of all sizes imaginable. With these were found antique pipes of stone and clay, many of them bearing extraordinary devices, figures of animals, and of human heads wearing the conical cap, noticed on similar relics found in Mexico and Peru.

“There were also found the remainder of several axes of the old French pattern; specimens of Indian pottery in the shape of vases or pots, made of coarse sand and clay, well baked and constructed evidently with the view of being suspended over a fire. Two very handsome ones were obtained entire. In portions of the pits, skeletons were found entire or nearly so, and placed somewhat regularly, not only side by side but in layers upon each other; but in other parts all the small bones

appeared to be wanting, and skulls and large bones mingled in the greatest possible confusion.

“It seems quite clear that these pits were places of ancient Indian sepulture, and that on this spot were celebrated one or more of these ceremonies called ‘Feasts of the Dead,’ which the Huron and other Indian tribes were in the habit of performing once in ten or twelve years. One of these feasts was witnessed by Father Brebeuff, a Jesuit missionary, in the year 1636 at the Indian town of Ossossane, a little east of Collingwood. He describes it in the following language: ‘At each village the corpses were lowered from their scaffolds and raised from their graves. Their coverings were removed and the hideous relics arranged in a row surrounded by the weeping, shrieking, howling concourse. Thus were gathered all the village dead for the last ten or twelve years. Each family reclaimed its own, and immediately addressed itself to removing what remained of flesh from the bones. These were wrapped in skins, and, together with the recent corpses—which were allowed to remain entire, but which were also wrapped in furs—were now carried to one of the largest cabins and hung to the numerous cross poles which, like rafters, support the roof.

“‘Here the concourse of mourners seated themselves at a funeral feast, and as the squaws distributed food, a chief harangued the assembly, lamenting the loss of the deceased and extolling their virtues. This solemnity over, the mourners began their march for Ossossane, uttering at intervals in unison a dreary wailing cry; and as they stopped to rest at night at some village on the way, the inhabitants came forth to meet them with a mournful hospitality. From every town processions like these were converging towards Ossossane, and thither, on the urgent invitation of the chiefs, we repaired. The capacious bark houses were filled to overflowing, and the surrounding woods gleamed with camp fires. Funeral games were in progress, the young men and women practicing archery, and other exercises for prizes offered by the mourners in the name of their dead relatives. Some of the chiefs conducted us to the place prepared for the ceremony—a cleared area in the forest

many acres in extent. In the midst was a pit about ten feet deep and thirty wide. Around it was reared a high and strong scaffolding, and on this were placed several poles, with cross poles extended between, for hanging the funeral gifts and the remains of the dead.

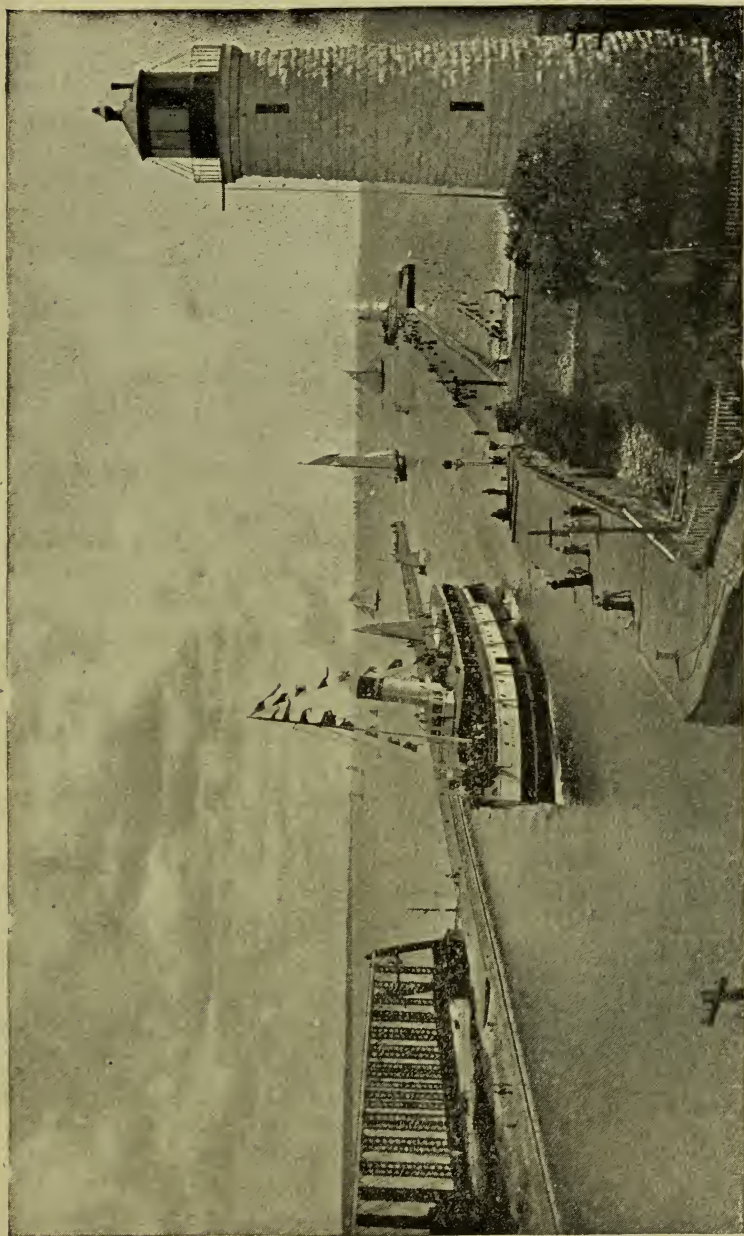
“We were lodged in a large bark house where more than a hundred of these bundles of mortality were hanging from the rafters. Amidst the throng of the living and the dead we spent a night which the imagination and the senses conspired to render almost unsupportable. At length the officiating chiefs gave the signal to prepare for the ceremony. The relics were taken down, opened for the last time, and the bones caressed and fondled by the women amid paroxysms of lamentations. Then all the processions were formed anew and, each bearing its dead, moved toward the area prepared for the last solemn rites. As they reached the ground they defiled in order, each to a spot assigned to it. Here the bearers of the dead laid their bundles on the ground. Fires were now lighted, kettles slung, and around the entire circle of the clearing the scene was like a fair or caravansary. This continued till three in the afternoon, when the gifts and bones were re-packed. Suddenly at a signal from the chiefs, the crowd ran forward from every side towards the scaffold, scaled it by rude ladders, and hung their relics and gifts to the forests of poles which surrounded it. Then the ladders were removed, and a number of chiefs standing on the scaffold harangued the crowd below, while other functionaries were lining the grave throughout with rich robes of beaver skin. Three large copper kettles were next placed in the middle and then ensued a scene of hideous confusion. The bodies which were left entire were brought to the edge of the grave, flung in and arranged in order at the bottom by ten or twelve Indians stationed there for that purpose, amid the wildest excitement and uproar of many hundred mingled voices. When this part of the work was done night was fast closing in. The concourse bivouacked around the clearing and lighted their camp fires under the brows of the forest which hedged in the scene. We withdrew to the village, when an hour before dawn we were

aroused by a terrible clamor. One of the bundles of bones, tied to a pole on the scaffold, had chanced to fall into the grave. This accident precipitated the closing act and perhaps increased its frenzy. Guided by the unearthly din, and the broad glare of the flames, fed with heaps of fat pine log, we soon reached the spot and saw what seemed to us an image of pandemonium. All around blazed countless fires, and the air resounded with discordant outcries.

“The naked multitude, on, under and around the scaffold were flinging the remains of their dead pell mell into the pit, where we discovered men who, as the ghastly shower fell around them, arranged the bones in their places with long poles. All was soon over; earth, logs and stones were cast upon the grave, and the clamor subsided in a funeral chant, dreary and lugubrious.’

“Such was the origin of those numerous and strange sepulchres which have been the wonder and perplexity of the early settlers of the County of Simcoe, similar in every respect to the one at Lake Medad where stood the Iroquois village visited by La Salle as before mentioned in the year 1669.”

The chief as well as the best known Indian nations inhabiting what is now the Province of Ontario and the adjoining states of New York and Pennsylvania are the Hurons, the Iroquois and Neuters. The Hurons, consisting of some five tribes, occupied the district extending from the shores of Lake Huron on the west, to the Ottawa river on the east. They traded with the French at Montreal and Quebec and brought their merchandise, which consisted chiefly of furs, to these places by way of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers. The Iroquois, or Five Nation Indians, were scattered over a large area of territory lying east of the Niagara river, and south of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence and also extending westward along the southern shores of Lake Erie. These tribes traded with the Dutch at New Holland (Albany) and Manhattan (New York) by way of the Hudson river. The Neuter nation occupied the southern portion of Ontario embracing the Niagara Peninsula and extending westward as far



CANAL AT BURLINGTON BEACH.

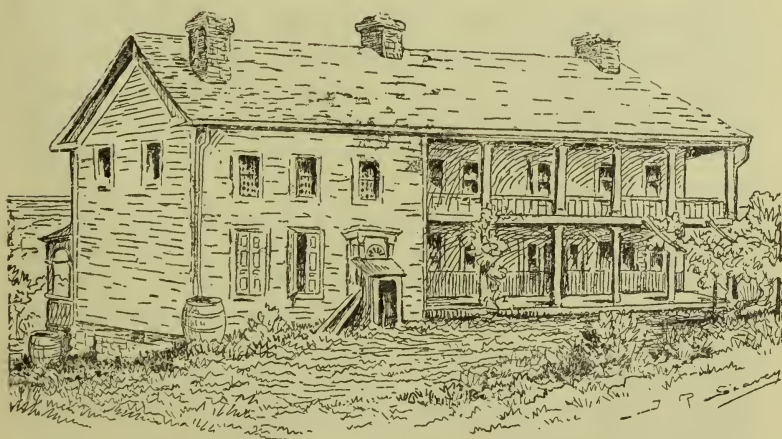
as the river Detroit. They obtained their name from the neutral stand they took in the wars between the Iroquois and Hurons. They were a comparatively strong and powerful nation, for it was estimated by the early explorers that about the beginning of the seventeenth century they had fully 4000 warriors armed and equipped for war.

The Iroquois possessed some excellent traits of character, for they honored a pledge when once given; they respected a treaty when ratified; they had proper regard for their own laws and customs and they possessed strong social and domestic feelings. Notwithstanding all these good qualities, their history is a continuous story of rapine and bloodshed. The avowed purpose of the chiefs who entered into a league and formed the confederacy of the Five Nations, was to cultivate the arts of peace and abolish war. In this they were unsuccessful. One of the first known acts of the league after its formation was to drive the Huron tribes from their homes in the valley of the St. Lawrence. This they did, and the remnant of this once powerful nation found a place of refuge along the southern shores of the Georgian Bay. Here they lived in peace for some time, but the Iroquois having regained something of their normal strength waged war against them, captured one town after another, until in 1649 a general massacre took place, which ended in the destruction of the whole nation. Two small bands escaped, one of which now occupies the Indian village of Lorette, near Quebec, the other went westward and were soon absorbed by the stronger tribes in that locality. They then turned their attention to the Neuters, as they were called by the French, and waged an incessant war against them, which ended in 1651 in the utter dispersion of this nation.

The Tuscaroras, a tribe belonging to the southern part of the United States, were admitted into the Iroquoian confederacy in 1722, when the name was changed to that of the Six Nation Indians. Captain Joseph Brant was one of their most distinguished chiefs. Nearly all the tribes belonging to this league took sides with the British during the Revolutionary War. For the services thus rendered they secured from the Crown a

grant of land extending six miles on each side of the Grand River from its source to its mouth. On a portion of this reserve a remnant of these tribes still reside and successfully follow agricultural pursuits.

Within the last few years a greatly increased attention has been given to the thorough examination of the ossuaries and camping grounds in this section of country. Many valuable relics have been found, and much light has been thrown upon the manners and customs of these ancient people. The private collections of Indian antiquities of Dr. J. O. McGregor, of Waterdown, Mr. George Allison, of the same place, and the Messrs. Mullock, in the near vicinity, are well worthy the attention of students of Indian character. These collections are carefully classified and arranged, and contain, both as to quality and quantity, as large an assortment of relics as are found in similar collections in our public museums.



THE GAGE HOMESTEAD.

CHAPTER III.

Upper Canada an Unknown Wilderness — The Fur Trade — Trading Posts — Fort Frontenac — Niagara a French Fort on British Territory — Besieged by the British Colonists — United Empire Loyalists — British Parliament Grants Substantial Aid — The Niagara Peninsula.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary war, the western portion of Quebec, afterwards called Upper Canada, was practically an unknown wilderness, and is said to have contained less than two thousand of a white population. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the fur trade with the Indians began to increase rapidly and soon became a matter of great commercial importance to both English and French colonists. To increase the facilities for prosecuting this trade, and to guard the interests of those engaged in it, trading posts were established at various points in this western district. These posts were protected by rude fortifications, and the white population very naturally settled in close proximity to them, so as to have easy access to a place of refuge from the attacks of the Indians.

In selecting sites for these trading posts, the early French explorers chose situations that were important from a military point of view. To guard the outlet of the great lakes, a fort was established at Cataraqui, near the site of the present city of Kingston.

On the 12th of July, 1673, Governor Frontenac and a party of some four hundred men, with one hundred and twenty canoes, and two large flat boats on which cannons were mounted, landed at this point. Arrangements were soon made with the Iroquois chiefs for holding a grand council. The next day the members of this council assembled with great pomp and

imposing ceremony. Frontenac made a speech in which he assured the Indians of the kindness and good will of the French, and of their desire to avoid war. While this first meeting was in session, Raudin, the engineer of the expedition, marked out the plan of the fort. Men were at once set to work clearing away the timber, cutting and hewing the palisades, and digging the necessary trenches. The fort and barracks were soon complete, and on the 1st of August the Governor reached Montreal on his return journey.

Well protected from winds, secure in its anchorage, and easy of access, the mouth of the Niagara river possessed many natural advantages as a harbor. It is not surprising therefore that the intrepid LaSalle with his keen foresight should select this spot as a site for a fort and trading post. Here, then, in 1678, on the east side of the river, the first fort was built. This position was an advantageous one, for it commanded the entrance to the interior and afforded safe and easy communication with the colonial headquarters at Montreal. A third fort was built at Detroit to control the passage from Lake Erie north.

The original fort built at Niagara by LaSalle was destroyed by fire a few years after it was completed. In 1687, the Marquis de Denonville, then Governor-General of Canada, rebuilt it in a more permanent form. He described the locality as "the most beautiful, the most pleasing, and the most advantageous site on the lake." Jealous and indignant at the establishment of a French fortress on the British side of the Niagara river, the British colonists in the Province of New York remonstrated strongly against this action on the part of the Canadian authorities. For some reason this fort was abandoned in 1688, and remained without a garrison until 1725, when Baron de Longueuil took possession of it, and laid the foundation of a stone fortification on the spot where the original fort had been built. This was completed the following year, and from time to time enlarged and strengthened until it became one of the strongest fortresses in Canada.

In 1759, while the seven years' war engrossed the attention

of the European nations, and the Indian and colonial wars struck terror into the hearts and desolated the homes of the frontier settlers, this fort was held for the French king by a garrison of some 500 men under the command of M. Pouchot. Being a position of great military value to the British colonists, it was regularly besieged by Brigadier General Prideaux with an army of 8,200 men and 600 Indians. During the progress of the siege, General Prideaux was accidentally killed by the premature bursting of a small mortar, and the command of the army then devolved upon Sir Wm. Johnston, of Mohawk celebrity. To relieve the garrison and raise the siege, a large force of French and Indians was sent from the Lake Erie district. Intelligence of the advance of this army having been received, Captain de Lancey was ordered to prepare an ambuscade near where Lewiston now stands to intercept the enemy's progress. Not anticipating this movement on the part of the British, the French were surprised and defeated. When the commander of Fort Niagara learned that the army sent to relieve him had been thoroughly routed, he at once accepted the honorable terms offered him by the commander of the British forces, Sir Wm. Johnston. Fort Niagara thus fell into the hands of the British a short time before Wolfe won his memorable battle on the Plains of Abraham, and Canada became a British colony. It remained in the hands of the British until, by the Treaty of Paris, it was surrendered to the Americans, who, however, did not get actual possession of it until 1796, when under Jay's Treaty it was practically abandoned.

One effect that followed the close of the Revolutionary war was the sifting out of the tried and true subjects of Great Britain. While this internecine struggle was going on, right nobly did they uphold the cause of the mother country and battle for her supremacy. When their efforts were thwarted by the establishment of the American Republic they forsook their comfortable homes, and migrated to the northern shores of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. In that broad domain, amidst untold hardships and struggles, they began life anew and laid the foundations of a youthful nation that has

ever proved loyal to the throne and sceptre of Great Britain, and that has sworn fealty to her laws and institutions. For their efforts to maintain the unity of the British Empire, and for their devotion to the cause of the mother country, they were called United Empire Loyalists, a name that should ever be honored by all true Canadians. It is difficult for us, surrounded as we are with the modern conveniences of life, to fully appreciate the sacrifices made and the hardships endured by these loyal people. Many of them were men of wealth, ability and professional skill. Their families occupied comfortable homes, and were prominent in society. These they saw subjected to social ostracism, and exposed to open insult, and sometimes to wanton outrage and spoliation.

The leaders of both political parties in the British parliament warmly espoused their cause, and spoke in the highest terms of the devotion and loyalty of these patriotic people. The home government voted £3,300,000 sterling to indemnify them for their losses, and to aid them in building up new homes in Canada. For this purpose settlements were opened up and surveys made along the upper portion of the St. Lawrence, around the beautiful Bay of Quinte, on the northern shores of Lake Ontario, and in the Niagara peninsula. A free grant of 200 acres of land was given to each U. E. Loyalist, and each child, on coming of age, received a similar grant. Assistance was freely given in the shape of food, clothing and implements. Each head of a family received an axe, a hoe, and a spade. To each group of two families a cow and a plow was allotted. Cross-cut saws, whip saws, and portable mills were furnished for each settlement. Liberal grants of land were made to immigrants from Great Britain. Many disbanded soldiers, half-pay officers, and members of the militia force availed themselves of these liberal terms, took up land, and became permanent residents. Rations of food, and in many cases necessary articles of clothing were given by the government to such people as were in need. This liberal treatment extended over a period of three years, and in this way these pioneer families were enabled to tide over the period of greatest

hardship, and get a portion of their lands cleared and under cultivation.

It is estimated that fully 10,000 of these patriots settled in Canada within a year after the war had closed, the great majority of whom came from the New England colonies and the adjacent province of New York. This immigration continued steadily until not less than 25,000 people had settled in the British colonies. The Niagara peninsula offered an attractive asylum for these loyal people. Not only was it convenient of access, but it possessed a fertile soil and a salubrious climate. These U. E. Loyalists were not slow to perceive the many desirable features of this district, and soon numerous settlements were formed along the southern shore of Lake Ontario and on the banks of the river which separated it from the young republic. As these advantages became more widely known, the influx of population rapidly increased. Some of the more adventurous spirits were not content to remain in that locality, but turning their face westward sought homes around the "Head of the Lake," as it was then called. To reach this point it was necessary to follow the Indian trail below the mountain or coast along the shore in open boats.



CHAPTER IV.

The First Settlers — Charles Depew — George Stewart — Richard Beasley — Robert Land — His Narrow Escape from Death — Destruction of His Home — Settles near Niagara — Mrs. Land goes to New Brunswick — Their Long Separation and a Happy Reunion — Abraham and Isaac Horning — Emigrate from Pennsylvania — Peter Horning and His Two Sisters Follow — Meet Their Brothers — Their Toilsome Journey.

To whom shall we ascribe the honor of being the first settler at the head of Lake Ontario? This is a question that has been frequently asked, but so far the writer is unable to furnish any information more definite than that which is written here. The persons named may justly lay claim to this honor, but it is impossible at this late date to decide upon the particular person.

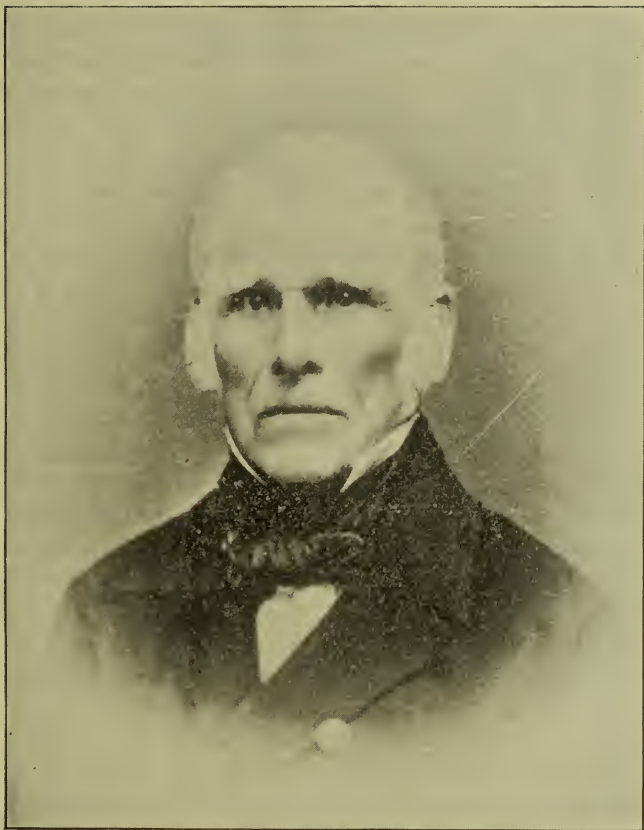
According to the records in the Crown Lands Department for Ontario, the plans of the original survey of the townships of Barton and Saltfleet were registered on the 25th of October, 1791, by Augustus Jones, deputy provincial land surveyor. The names of those who had taken up land at this time were entered on these plans, which gave them an interim title, but it was not until 1796 that regular patents were issued. Reference to this list will show the year in which the patents were granted, but it does not decide the question, "who was the first settler?" for quite a number of people had settled here prior to any survey.

Among the earliest of these patriots who visited this section of the province with the view of making it their home, were Charles Depew, and his brother-in-law, George Stewart. These men coasted along the southern shore of the lake as far as Burlington Beach, near the mouth of the big creek at the southeast corner of the bay. At this place they dragged their

canoe across the beach, pursued their course along the south shore, and landed on what is known as the Depew farm, now occupied by Mr. S. P. Stipe. As no surveys had been made, the manner of locating claims consisted in writing the name of the claimant on a flattened stake, driving it into the ground, and taking formal possession. This they did. Mr. Depew selected the farm, which has since that time borne his name. Mr. Stewart went farther west, and chose what in recent years is known as the Grant farm. From the most trustworthy information obtainable, the autumn of 1785 appears to be the time in which this journey was made. The following year they moved their effects to this place and became permanent settlers.

About the same time Mr. Richard Beasley, who carried on quite an extensive trade with the Indians, laid claim to the land where Dundurn Park is now situated. He also pre-empted the adjoining property, known as Beasley's Hollow, and afterwards erected a mill on the stream flowing into Coote's Paradise. On his monument in the churchyard of Christ Church Cathedral, Hamilton, the following inscription is found: "In memory of Richard Beasley, Esquire, who departed this life on the 16th day of February, 1842, aged 80 years and 7 months,—the first settler at the Head of the Lake."

Mr. Robert Land was certainly among the very earliest settlers at the "Head of the Lake," if not actually the first. A very interesting and romantic incident is related in connection with his experience in Canadian pioneer life. His early home was on the banks of the Delaware river, when the thirteen colonies cast off their allegiance to the British crown, and erected themselves into the Republic of the United States. Cherishing the name of Briton as an honorable birthright, and being loyal to king and country, he cast in his lot with the British. Naturally of a courageous disposition, and filled with a spirit of daring, he was frequently selected as the bearer of important despatches. One night while engaged in this dangerous duty he was fired at by the enemy. A partially spent musket ball struck him. The wound thus inflicted pre-



COL. ROBERT LAND.

vented him from reaching his home. He was forced to conceal himself in a thicket of underbrush, where he remained all night. As soon as he had regained sufficient strength, he resumed his journey and reached his home. Here he found nothing left but the ashes of his cabin. His wife and children had gone he knew not whither. Sorrowfully he turned from this sad scene, and set his face for Canada. Of that perilous journey, its hardships, its dangers, and its privations, we shall say nothing further than that he reached Niagara in safety, and found himself once more on British soil. For some time he remained in this place, but not being satisfied with his surroundings he determined to go still farther west. We next find him settled in a lonely log cabin in a small clearing on the southern shore of a beautiful body of water, called by the Indians, Macassa, where we shall leave him while we trace briefly the history of his wife and children during the long period of their separation.

Mrs. Land supposing that her husband had been killed, followed the British army into New Brunswick. By dint of hard labor and careful management, she contrived to bring up her family until they could do something towards supporting themselves. Her prospects in that colony not being satisfactory she determined to go to Canada. She reached Niagara in safety, and learned that a man bearing the name of Robert Land had settled somewhere near the Head of the Lake. This unexpected news awakened within her the hope that this man might be her long lost husband, for she had cherished in her heart the hope that they might meet again. She at once decided to go to the Head of the Lake. To the great joy of all the long separated family were united. For many years they lived together in their peaceful and happy home, enjoying the respect and esteem of all with whom they came in contact.

The history of the early settlement of this part of the province would be incomplete without some reference to the hardships endured and the difficulties surmounted by the Horning family in their long and tedious journey from their quiet home on the Susquehanna river in Pennsylvania to the

unbroken forests surrounding the head of Lake Ontario. Mr. Robert Horning, a great grandson of Mr. Ludwig, or Lewis Horning, the founder of the family, has furnished the writer with the following description of that memorable voyage: He says, "My great grandfather, Mr. Ludwig Horning, emigrated from Holland in 1770, and settled in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Susquehanna river. Here his family grew up and remained with him until 1787, when his two sons, Abraham and Isaac, emigrated to Canada. They settled where East Hamilton now stands, and built a log shanty to the south of the residence of the late Dr. Lewis Springer. When leaving home, their mother, thoughtful woman that she was, gave them a supply of garden seeds. Among them were some of her favorite flowers, which in due time were planted around their lonely cabin in the forest. Through the winter they toiled late and early adding to their small clearing. Spring came and with it the opening leaves and flowers. To their great joy they saw these garden favorites blooming gaily, and recalling thoughts of home and friends far away.

"In 1788 their brother, Peter Horning, with his family and two sisters started for Canada. Before leaving home they built a boat of sufficient size to carry their household effects. Following the Susquehanna they reached a tributary that led to the first of a chain of lakes that crosses the State of New York. Up this stream they pursued their toilsome journey and crossed the first lake. Here they made their first portage and reached the second lake. After crossing this they made a second portage, and reached the shores of the third lake. Following the river that flows from this lake they found themselves on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, where Oswego now stands. Resting here for a short time, they pursued their journey westward, coasting along the shore. Before reaching Niagara, however, they encountered a very severe storm. Their boat was driven ashore and broken in pieces, but they managed to save a portion of its cargo. Peter Horning then started to walk to Niagara, while the remainder of the party



ROBERT LAND'S CABIN.

camped on the shore until help should arrive. When he reached Niagara he at once informed the authorities of his mishap, and they promptly sent a Mr. St. John with a boat and crew to bring the family and what remained of their household effects. The family remained here a short time while Peter Horning and his two sisters followed the Indian trail to the Head of the Lake. Arriving here one day they discovered a log cabin in a small clearing. The cabin was open but no person was near. One of the sisters saw the flowers and at once said, "We are at the end of our journey; I know it by these flowers. Mother gave the seed to Abraham. They cannot be far away." Noticing a path leading in a northerly direction, they followed it, and soon found themselves on the shores of a beautiful body of water, now known as Burlington Bay, whither the two young men had gone to fish. Great was the rejoicing when the brothers recognized their friends from Pennsylvania. In the course of a few days the remainder of the party arrived, and landed on the farm then occupied by Mr. Depew. Soon they were quietly settled in their log cabin, where they remained for many years.

"In 1828, Peter Horning purchased 2,500 acres of land in Simcoe County, which is still known as Horning's Mills. Here he remained until 1838, when he returned to his old home in Hamilton. While living at Horning's Mills two children were stolen by the Indians, and no trace of them, nor yet any information as to their fate, has ever been received by any of the family."

This toilsome journey of the Horning family covered a period of eight weeks. From this brief but imperfect description we can form some conception of the privations, discouragements, and hardships endured by these pioneer families in their efforts to provide themselves with comfortable homes in the forests of Canada. Nor is this all. It brings out in bold relief the courage, the perseverance, and the indomitable energy of these truly noble men and women.

CHAPTER V.

General Carlton — Upper Canada Divided in to Four Districts — Lunenburg — Mecklenburg — Nassau — Hesse — Why so Called — The Township the unit of our Municipal System — Local Government by Town Meetings and Quarter Sessions — District Councils — Municipal Act of 1849 — Surveying Townships — Land Boards — Augustus Jones, Deputy Surveyor — Indian Reserve — Indian Line — Purchase Line.

IN 1786, General Carlton, under the title of Lord Dorchester, returned to Canada as Governor General. His attention was directed to the necessities of the western portion of the province, which at that time was receiving a large accession to its population by the influx of U. E. Loyalists. To secure better government and to give every facility for settlement, he issued a proclamation on the 24th July, 1788, dividing what is now the Province of Ontario into four districts. Their names and boundaries were fixed as follows :

1. The district of Lunenburg, bounded on the east by the easterly limit of a tract called Lancaster, and extending westward to a line running north and south to the limits of the province, and intersecting the mouth of the river Gananoque above the rifts of the St. Lawrence.

2. The district of Mecklenburg, bounded on the east by the westerly limit of Lunenburg, and extending westward to a line running north and south to the limits of the province, and intersecting the mouth of the river Trent, where it discharges itself into the bay of Quinte.

3. The district of Nassau, bounded on the east by the westerly boundary of Mecklenburg, and extending to a line running north and south to the limits of the province, and intersecting the eastern projection of Long Point into Lake Erie on the northern side of the said Lake Erie.

4. The district of Hesse, which is to comprehend the residue of the said province in the western or inland parts thereof.

These names were doubtless selected because they represented royalist and protestant ideas. The grand ducal family of Brunswick, *Lunenburg*, was a sovereign branch of the house of Hanover. Queen Charlotte had been the princess of *Mecklenburg-Strelitz*. William III was the head of the illustrious house of *Orange-Nassau*, and the princes of *Hesse* sent auxiliary forces to combat American rebels.

In Canada the township is the unit of our municipal system and the original basis of local self government. Cities, towns and incorporated villages are considered as units, similar to townships, since the powers and functions vested in the local representatives are based upon the same general principles. Townships, towns and villages are grouped together to form counties for municipal purposes. Counties were originally formed for military purposes and for the election of representatives to the Legislative Assembly. They had no place in our system of local self government until county councils were established by the municipal act of 1849. Similarly they are grouped to form electoral divisions. The boundaries of these divisions may be coterminous with the municipal boundaries, or they may vary from them to suit the exigencies of parliamentary representation. So far as the writer has been informed, the unity of the township, town or village has never been violated. These municipalities play a very important part in our system of local self government. The representatives elected by the people form a corporation, and are vested with power and authority to levy and collect taxes directly from the people, a power that is not given to any other body.

The Legislature of Upper Canada in 1793 passed an act to provide for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers, and introduced the system of local self government by town meetings and quarter sessions. This system remained in force until 1841, when an act was passed to provide

for the better internal government of this province by the establishment of local municipal bodies elected by the people, and called district councils. The administrative functions exercised by the magistrates in quarter sessions, and certain other powers specifically named, were vested in these corporations. This act was superseded by the municipal act of 1849, which, though amended and reconstructed by successive parliaments, has not been altered in any of its essential principles. The first elections under its provisions were held in 1850, but it was not until 1851 that the new plan made much of an impression on the country. The local municipalities were divided into six classes: (1) Townships. (2) Counties. (3) Police villages. (4) Incorporated villages. (5) Towns, and (6) Cities, to each of which were granted certain privileges and prerogatives.

Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1781 began the work of surveying townships in Upper Canada, but not much progress was made. It soon became evident that more vigorous measures were necessary, and accordingly a surveyor general was appointed. Under his direction the work was prosecuted vigorously, and settlements were established for the distressed Loyalists, who were resorting to this province in large numbers.

In each of the districts into which Upper Canada was then divided, Land Boards, as they were designated, were established. The Nassau Land Board consisted of the following persons:—Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter, or the officer commanding, Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, Peter TenBroeck, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling and Nathaniel Pettit. Their first meeting was held in 1789 in Navy Hall, Niagara, immediately after the close of the Quarter Sessions. Their duties were (1) To examine into the loyalty and character of all persons claiming or asking lands for settlement, if approved, the oath of allegiance was administered, and the surveyors were directed to locate the applicants on unclaimed lands. (2) To settle all land disputes. A great many settlers located their families on lands still unsurveyed. When the surveys were

completed, disputes concerning boundaries arose, and the Land Board acted as a court of adjudication. (3) To locate settlers and have a general oversight over all land matters. (4) To appoint road commissioners, and (5) To recommend such measures to the government as, in their opinion, would promote the welfare and harmony of the inhabitants.

On the recommendation of the Land Board Mr. Augustus Jones was, in June, 1791, appointed Deputy Provincial Land Surveyor for the District of Nassau. He had been in active work since November, 1789, assisting Mr. Philip Fry in his surveys, and was therefore familiar with the work required of him. Having been closely connected with the first surveys around the head of the lake, a brief outline of his personal history will not be out of place. His second son, the Rev. Peter Jones, in his autobiography, says:—"My father, Mr. Augustus Jones, was of Welsh extraction. His grandfather emigrated to America prior to the American Revolution, and settled on the Hudson River, in the State of New York. Mr. A. Jones, having finished his studies as a land surveyor in the city of New York, came with a recommendation from Mr. Colden, son of the Governor of that State, to Lord Dorchester, Governor General of Canada, and was immediately employed as a Deputy Provincial Surveyor in laying out town plots, townships and roads in different parts of the Province. This necessarily brought him in contact with the Indian tribes. He learned their language, and employed many of them in his service. He became so much interested in the Indian character that he resolved on taking a wife from among them. Accordingly he married my mother, Tuhbenakanguay, daughter of a chief of the Mississagua tribe of the Ojibway nation. This took place at the Grand River in 1798. The issue of this union was five sons and five daughters. My father being fully engaged in his work, left my eldest brother and myself entirely under the care and management of my mother. She preferred the habits of her own people, and for more than fourteen years we lived and wandered about with the Indians."

Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor General of Canada, on the application of Capt. Joseph Brant and other chiefs and warriors of the Six Nation Indians, granted them in 1784, and to their posterity forever, the Grand River from its source to its entry into Lake Erie, and extending six miles on either side of the river. The limits of this Indian Reserve were neither definitely fixed nor surveyed until 1791, when a plan of the Grand River was laid before the Land Board of Nassau. They called Capt. Joseph Brant and the principal chiefs and warriors to aid them with their counsel and advice. After careful consideration it was unanimously agreed upon and determined that the bend of the river eastward nearly two miles from its mouth or issue into Lake Erie and the Mohawk village near the bend of the river, northward, shall be the two fixed points. That a line drawn straight from one of these points to the other shall form the centre line of the Indian settlement or lands on the Grand River, and that two parallel lines to this, six miles distant, on either side of the river, shall form the bounds between them and the district of Nassau. This agreement was ratified on the first day of February, 1791. The total cost of this survey was about four hundred dollars.

This Indian line, a name by which it is familiarly known among the residents of that locality, forms the southerly boundary of Binbrook, Glanford and Ancaster. Its bearing, as laid down on the surveyor's plan, is north $62^{\circ} 30'$ west to a point opposite the Mohawk village, where it changes its direction, and runs north $15^{\circ} 40'$ west. This last named line forms the western boundary of the Gore of Beverly.

The Mississagua Indians claimed the lands lying along the northern shore of Lake Ontario as far east as the Credit River. To separate these from the lands already purchased, a line running in a north-westerly direction, and familiarly known as the "Purchase Line," was surveyed. The starting point for this survey was the "Old outlet," connecting Burlington Bay with Lake Ontario, and situated near the northern end of the Beach. This line was run at an angle of north 45° west, and extended

to a point distant about twelve miles from the water's edge. From this point the surveyors were instructed to run a series of radial lines like the spokes of a wheel, with the view of reaching the sources of the Thames. From this it is quite evident that the authorities knew very little about the interior of the country. At a later date this line was extended some four miles, and now forms the boundary between the Counties of Wentworth and Halton.



OLD COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

CHAPTER VI.

Constitutional Act of 1791 — John Graves Simcoe — His Early Life — Visits America — Elected Member of the British Parliament — Appointed First Governor of Upper Canada — A Government Organized — Province Divided into Counties — First Session of Parliament — Formal Opening — Acts Passed — Governor Simcoe Visits Detroit — Survey of the Governor's Road — First Survey of Townships — Townships Numbered — Names Substituted for Numbers — Plans Registered — The L of Glanford — Surveys Completed.

REFERENCE has been made incidentally to Upper Canada, but it was not until May, 1791, that the British parliament passed an act for the division of the Province of Quebec into two parts. The westerly portion was called Upper, and the easterly, Lower Canada. This act went into force on the 26th of December, 1791, and Colonel Simcoe was appointed the first governor of the western province. In Upper Canada the Legislative Assembly consisted of sixteen representatives elected by the people, and the Legislative Council of seven councillors nominated by the Crown. A provincial court of appeal was constituted, the English tenure of land by free and common socage adopted, and provision made for the support of the Protestant clergy. Tithes were enforceable, but Protestants were protected from paying them in support of the Roman Catholic clergy.

John Graves Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, was an Englishman by birth and education. He attended the free grammar school at Exeter until he was fourteen years of age, when he was removed to Eton, and afterwards to Merton college, Oxford. Shortly after leaving college he obtained a commission as ensign in the 35th Regiment, when he was only nineteen years of age. This regiment was ordered to America to take part in the Revolutionary war. Here he distinguished

himself by his energy, sound judgment and thorough military knowledge, and succeeded in procuring a commission as captain of a company in the 40th Regiment. This company won great honor at the battle of Brandywine. Captain Simcoe was promoted to the rank of major, and placed in command of the regiment known far and wide as the Queen's Rangers. The special duties of this regiment were principally those of scouts or light cavalry, and they were accorded certain privileges not given to any other corps. He remained in command of this regiment until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. On account of enfeebled health he was allowed to return to England as a prisoner on parole. Here he remained until he was relieved from parole by the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the mother country and her colonies. In recognition of his eminent services, His Majesty conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant colonel of the army.

During his military career he had acquired a reputation in England, and in 1790 was elected a member of parliament. He took an active part in the discussion that arose on the Constitutional Act. Being intimately acquainted with its provision and sympathizing deeply with the refugee loyalists, he seemed the most eligible person to appoint as governor of Upper Canada. Accordingly he was appointed, and his subsequent career fully justified the confidence placed in him.

He arrived at Kingston after a long and tedious journey up the St. Lawrence, and on the 8th of July, 1792, took the oaths of office, and proceeded at once to organize a government. The following persons were appointed members of the Legislative Council: William Osgoode, chief justice; John White, who came out from England for this purpose in 1792, attorney general; Peter Russell, receiver general; D. W. Smith, surveyor general; William Jarvis, provincial secretary; James Small, clerk of the council; Thomas Talbot was private secretary, and Major Littlehales, A. D. C. to the governor. Mr. Gray was appointed solicitor general; Thomas Ridout and Wm. Chewett, assistant surveyor generals; Peter Clark, clerk of the Legislative Assembly; John G. Law, usher of the

black rod; Colonel John Butler, superintendent of Indian affairs. The council chamber was at Navy Hall, Newark, now Niagara.

A proclamation was issued by the Governor on the 16th July, 1792, dividing the province into nineteen counties for the purpose of electing representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The limits of these counties were determined more by the number of inhabitants than by the extent of territory embraced within their limits, due allowance being made for prospective settlements. The following are the names of the counties beginning at the eastern boundary of the province: Glengarry, Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, Leeds, Frontenac, Ontario, Addington, Lennox, Prince Edward, Hastings, Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent. Sixteen representatives were elected. At that time, what is now known as North Wentworth, formed part of the west riding of York, and South Wentworth part of the first riding of Lincoln. York was divided into two ridings, the east and the west, and extended from the County of Durham westward to the river Thames, then called La Tranche, and embraced all the territory north of the western part of Lake Ontario, Lake Geneva, and a carrying place from Lake Geneva to Mohawk village. Lincoln was divided into four ridings, the first, second, third and fourth, and had the Niagara river for its eastern boundary, Lake Erie and the Grand river west to Mohawk village for its southern boundary, and Lake Ontario, Lake Geneva and the west riding of York for its northern boundary. By this proclamation the name of Lake Geneva was changed to that of Burlington Bay.

The first parliament of Upper Canada was summoned to meet at Niagara on the 17th day of September, 1792, and was prorogued on the 15th day of October following. The names of sixteen representatives elected by the people were: John Macdonell, John Booth, J. W. Baby, Alexander Campbell, Philip Dorland, Jeremiah French, Ephraim Jones, William Macomb, Hugh Macdonell, Benjamin Pawling, Nathaniel Pettit, David William Smith, Hazleton Spencer, Isaac Swayzy,

Mr. Young and John White. The members present subscribed to the oaths of office, except Philip Dorland, who, being a Quaker, refused to be sworn. His seat was therefore declared vacant, and Peter VanAlstine elected to fill the vacancy.

To impress the people of this province with the fact that they were a part of the British Empire, the Governor opened parliament with all the pomp and ceremony that distinguished the opening of the British parliament. Soldiers were drawn up in line to form a guard of honor to His Excellency, the members of the Legislative Council gave notice of his presence, the members of the Legislative Assembly appeared at the bar of the House, and the Governor read the speech from the throne. In it he cited his authority for calling them together, spoke approvingly of the many wise provisions of the Constitutional Act of the previous year, referred to the trusts and duties committed to their care, alluded in flattering terms to the many advantages possessed by the colony, and concluded by expressing the hope that it would soon be settled with a contented and prosperous people.

When the formalities of opening the session had been concluded, the legislators proceeded actively to business. The following acts were passed, received the royal assent, and became law: 1. An act to repeal certain portions of the Quebec Act of 1775, and to introduce the English law as the rule of decision in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights. 2. An act to establish trial by jury. 3. An act to establish the Winchester bushel, and a standard for other weights and measures. 4. An act concerning courts of common pleas. 5. An act to prevent accidents by fire. 6. An act for the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts. 7. An act to regulate the tolls to be taken at mills (not more than one-twelfth for grinding and bolting). 8. An act for building a gaol and court house in each district, and to change the names of the districts. The name of Lunenburg district was changed to that of Eastern district, Mecklenburg to Midland, Nassau to Home, and Hesse to Western. Owing to the time

(Sept. 17th), at which the Parliament was summoned to meet, only five representatives elected by the people, and two members of the Legislative Council, were present at the opening ceremonies. The remaining members could not attend to their parliamentary duties, as they were required at home to secure their crops and finish their fall work. The seat of government was removed from Niagara to York in 1797, and the Provincial Parliament was opened in a wooden building near the Don. Parliament street received its name from this event.

Governor Simcoe, with a small party of officers and men, started from Niagara on the 4th of February, 1793, to visit the post at the Straits of Detroit, and to review the soldiers stationed at that place. On their journey they visited Mohawk village, the home of Capt. Joseph Brant. They went from this place to the Delaware Indian village on the Thames, Capt. Brant and a band of his braves accompanying them. Here they remained for a short time, and then proceeded to Detroit, where they reviewed the 24th Regiment, and examined the fort. On the return trip a day was spent examining the country around the present site of the city of London, which in the opinion of the Governor was a very desirable situation for the metropolis of Canada. Lord Dorchester favored Kingston. A compromise was agreed upon, and Toronto, then called York, became the capital.

When the Governor returned to Niagara, he issued the following instructions to Mr. Augustus Jones, Deputy Provincial Surveyor: "You are to proceed immediately to Burlington Bay (formerly Lake Geneva), and from thence to the extent of bateau navigation in Coote's Paradise, at or near a creek (Beasley's creek) which falls from the mountain, and thence commence your survey by running, measuring and slightly marking a line south 77° west, until you strike the river Thames, which it is conjectured, you will do near the Upper Forkes." When Mr. A. Jones had completed this survey, and sent his report to the government, it was found that this line, instead of running south 77° west as conjectured, ran south



CAPT. JOSEPH BRANT.

78° 30' west. These instructions bear the date of March 19th, 1793.

The first surveys made in the Niagara peninsula were two townships fronting on the Niagara river, and extending as far south as the Welland river. These were known as Townships Nos. 1 and 2, in the district of Nassau. On the west side of No. 1, and extending westward to Coote's Paradise, a range of townships was surveyed, and were known as Townships Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, in the district of Nassau. In the rear of No. 7 another township was surveyed. These surveys were made in 1790 and 1791. On the north side of Lake Geneva a portion of a township was surveyed in 1791, and called the Township of Geneva.

On the 18th December, Governor Simcoe issued a proclamation designating these townships by names instead of numbers, as follows: No. 1, Newark, changed to Niagara in 1800; 2, Stamford; 3, Grantham; 4, Louth; 5, Clinton; 6, Grimsby; 7, Saltfleet; 8, Barton. The one in the rear of No. 7, or Saltfleet, was called Binbrook. These names were chosen from the names of places in the counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, in England.

The township of Saltfleet is divided into eight concessions or rows of lots, and a broken front. These concessions are subdivided into seventeen blocks, each containing two lots. These lots have a frontage of twenty chains, by a depth of fifty, and contain one hundred acres each. The starting point in the survey is a line, called a base line, running at right angles to the western boundary of the township of Grimsby, and at a convenient distance from the lake shore. Around each of these blocks, a strip of land one chain in width, is reserved for a road allowance. The concession lines run north 72° west, and the side lines south 18° west. According to the returns of the assessors for 1894, this township contains 28,173 acres.

The general plan of survey in Barton is similar to that of Saltfleet, with this exception, that each concession contains only twenty-one, instead of thirty-four lots. The concession lines,

and the side lines run in the same direction as the corresponding lines in Saltfleet, but the concession lines are not coterminous since the base line was run farther to the north. It is estimated that the number of acres in this township, according to the original survey, was about 17,500, but this has been reduced to 12,762, the remainder being occupied by the city of Hamilton. In both of these townships the concessions are numbered from the lake, southward, and the lots, from the eastern boundary, westward.

When the township of Binbrook was first surveyed, it consisted of four concessions, each containing five blocks. These were numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively, beginning at the easterly boundary, and contained 1,000 acres each excepting number 5, which contained 600 acres. This township lies immediately in the rear of, and adjacent to the township of Saltfleet. The concessions are numbered from north to south, and run parallel to those in Saltfleet, with their side lines at right angles to the concessions, both lines having the same bearing as the corresponding lines in Saltfleet and Barton. In a subsequent survey these blocks were subdivided into five lots, each containing 200 acres. This township, as first surveyed, contained 18,400 acres, but in the year 1800, the L of Glanford was detached from Glanford, and joined to Binbrook, and now it contains 26,387 acres.

The copies of the original plans in the Crown Lands office, Toronto, show that the townships of Saltfleet, Barton, Binbrook, and part of a township on the north side of Lake Geneva, called the Township of Geneva (now East Flamboro'), were surveyed in 1791 by Augustus Jones, Deputy Provincial Surveyor, and countersigned by Samuel Holland, Surveyor General, and at a later date by D. W. Smith, acting Surveyor General for Upper Canada. These plans contain the names of each proprietor, inserted in his own lot, and are dated Nassau, 25th October, 1791.

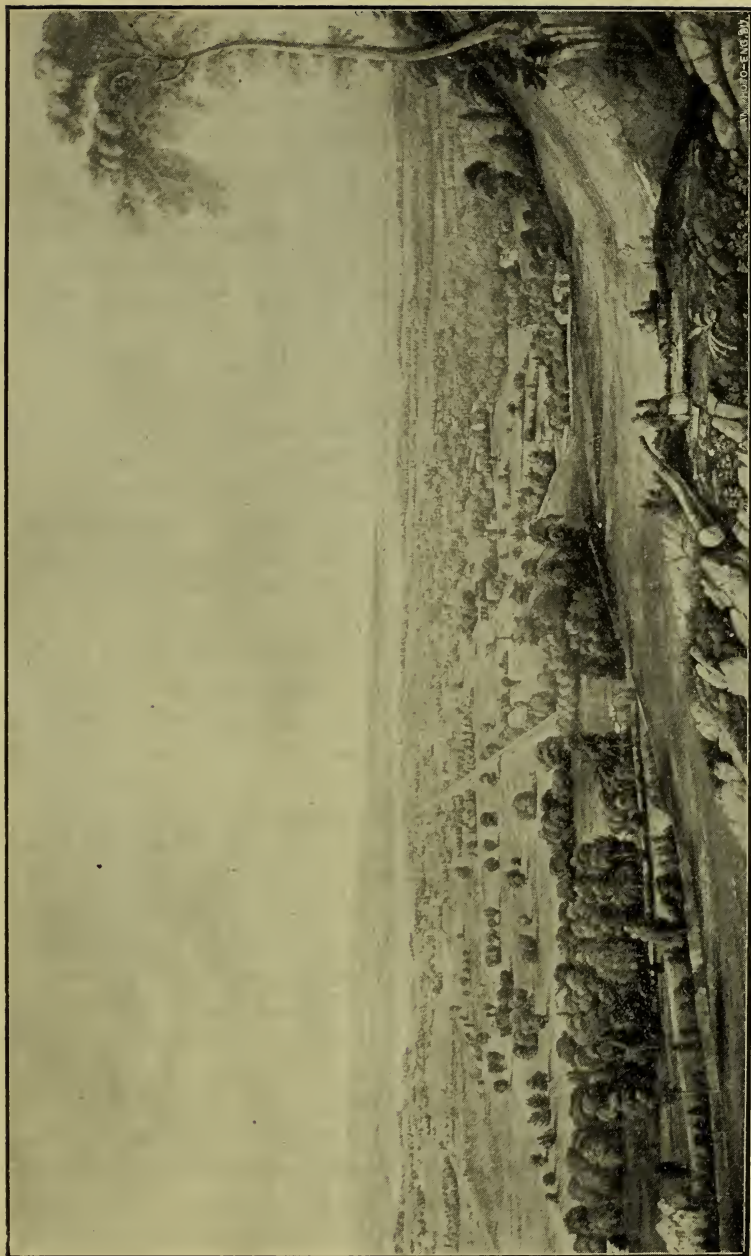
Reference has already been made to the survey of the Governor's road, sometimes called Dundas street, westward from a point on the south shore of Coote's Paradise to the

forks of the Thames. In May, 1793, Mr. A. Jones was instructed by the surveyor general for Upper Canada—"To proceed to Coote's Paradise, and from thence along the road marked to the river Thames, which you report to run south 77° west, until you intersect the north-east boundary of the land occupied by the Six Nation Indians, running north $15^{\circ} 40'$ west, and there commence your survey by admeasuring, marking and laying off so much of three townships, as is hereinafter mentioned."

The first township was surveyed on the north side of this road. Each concession was divided into six blocks, with an allowance of one chain for roads between these blocks, and between the concessions. Each block was subdivided into six lots, each lot having a frontage of 20 by a depth of 100 chains. These lots were numbered from west to east, and the concessions from south to north. The plans prepared by Mr. A. Jones, and registered in the surveyor general's office, show that this township extended twelve miles from front to rear, and covered an area of 108 square miles. The bearings of the concession lines are south 77° west, and of the side lines north 13° west, or in other words the former run thirteen degrees south of a line running due east and west, and the latter the same distance west of a line running due north and south. The Indian line runs north $15^{\circ} 40'$ west, while the western boundary of this township runs north 13° west. A gore of land is thus left between these two boundaries, which remained separate from any municipality until 1821, when it was made a part of Beverly.

The second township on the north side of this road was surveyed on the same general plan, with similar concessions, blocks, lots and road allowances, and extended from the eastern boundary of the first township to the north angle of Coote's Paradise, the lots being numbered from west to east, and the concessions from south to north.

On the northern shore of Lake Geneva, Mr. A. Jones, in 1791, surveyed a portion of a township to which the name of Geneva was given. Four concessions and a broken front were



HAMILTON IN 1847.

surveyed. These concessions were divided into seven lots each. After completing the survey of the first concession in the second township, he was instructed to divide each of the seven blocks in the different concessions of the township of Geneva into two lots, each lot to have a frontage of about 23 chains, and a depth of 87 chains. In this section of the second township the concessions were to run at right angles to the north-eastern boundary line, a line running north 45° west from the outlet at the northern end of the Beach. A road allowance of one chain was left between lots 7 and 8, and is known as the Centre road.

The third township was to consist of that triangular tract of land bounded on the north by the Governor's road, on the southwest by the Indian line, and on the southeast by the western boundary of the township of Barton. This tract was surveyed on the same general plan as that adopted for the survey of the first township, which lies immediately to the north and adjacent thereto. The concessions, blocks, lots and road allowances correspond in form and size with those of the adjoining townships on the north. The lots were numbered from west to east, and the concessions from north to south. Similar lines are described by the same bearings, and run in the same directions.

In December, 1793, Governor Simcoe changed the designation of the various townships, surveyed in the old district of Nassau, from numbers to names. The names assigned to the first eight townships have already been given. Of those surveyed during the summer of 1793, by Mr. A. Jones, the name of Beverly was given to the first on the north side of Dundas street, and Flamborough to the second, while the third, situated on the south side of said road, received the name of Ancaster.

In December, 1793, instructions were given to Mr. A. Jones to survey outlines of a new township between Barton and the Indian lands on the Grand river. He was further instructed to extend the line forming the western boundary of Barton in a southerly direction, until it intersected the north-

easterly boundary of these lands. This extended line was to form the western boundary of the new township, to which the name of Glanford was given. The concessions were to run parallel to those in Barton, and to have a depth of 66 chains, with an allowance of one chain for roads between concessions. These were subdivided into lots having a frontage of $28\frac{1}{2}$ chains, and a road allowance of one chain was reserved between each group of five lots. Some of the work having been done in a careless manner, the survey of this township was revised and a corrected plan registered in the surveyor general's office, and countersigned by Thomas Ridout, surveyor general. The lots in Glanford contain 188 acres, instead of 100 or 200 as in the other townships. When the survey of Glanford was completed it was found that a tract of land, lying between Binbrook and the Indian lands, still remained unsurveyed. In 1794, Mr. Jones surveyed this, and laid it out on the same plan as that adopted in Glanford. It received the name of the L of Glanford, and remained a part of that township until 1800, when it was attached to and made part of the township of Binbrook. This explains why there is a skip from four to seven in numbering the concessions in this latter township, and affords a reason for the variation in the form and size of the lots in these two sections of it.

When the townships now forming the county of Wentworth were first surveyed, a plan was prepared and registered in the surveyor general's office. The boundaries were duly fixed and marked, but only one or two concessions were subdivided into lots with fixed metes and bounds. As these were taken up for settlement, other concessions were surveyed in detail, roads opened, and the lots assigned to those coming in as settlers. Soon, however, the land jobber or speculator applied for and received large grants, one person alone having no less than 6,600 acres in the township of Ancaster, with smaller quantities in other parts of the county. Mr. A. Jones was the surveyor selected to fix the metes and bounds of the townships in Wentworth, and to prepare the necessary plans for the surveyor general. Other surveyors were employed to complete certain

parts of the work, originally planned by Mr. Jones. Among the earliest of these are Messrs. Iredale, Stegman, Law, Philps, Whelock and Grant. These surveys were practically completed about the close of the eighteenth century.



CHAPTER VII.

Roads — Dundas Street — King's Landing Place — Second Division into Counties — Gore District Formed — Representatives in the First District Council — Brant Separated from Wentworth — Halton Separated — Wentworth as now Constituted — Wardens Elected — County Treasurers — County Clerks — P. S. Inspectors — County Councils — Act of 1896 — Commissioners Appointed — Report of Commissioners — Members of the New County Council — Warden Elected.

BUILDING roads and opening up ways of communication in these early days necessarily involved a great amount of labor. Trees had to be felled, underbrush cut and cleared away, corduroy bridges made over low and wet places, and the smaller stumps and other obstacles removed. At first these roads were merely paths through the forest, and frequently followed the Indian trails. These paths were widened into roads as occasion required, so that sleighs could pass along them in winter and wagons or carts in summer.

Many of these early roads were of necessity very irregular in their course, according as the way was obstructed by hills, streams or swampy places. As the country grew older, and the population increased, these roads were straightened, the hills levelled, the roadways graded, and the streams bridged. At first this work was done by the residents of each locality, acting under a pathmaster appointed by the Quarter Sessions. Some of the most important of the leading thoroughfares, however, received aid from the government.

Governor Simcoe originated a plan for supplying Upper Canada with two great thoroughfares, one to extend from Kingston on the east to Lake Huron on the west, and the other from Toronto to Lake Simcoe. That portion of the former running from Toronto westward is called Dundas street, while

that extending eastward is called the Kingston road. Yonge street is the name given to the one running north to Lake Simcoe. Two purposes were to be served by these roads. The first, and at that time doubtless the more important, was that of a great military highway, and the second, of a great commercial road to give the outlying districts easy access to the ports on Lake Ontario.

Dundas street was surveyed at a distance of about three miles north of the lake shore. This position was selected in order to avoid the difficulty of bridging the streams near their outlets into the lakes, and for greater safety in sending supplies or forwarding troops in case of war. It passes through East Flamboro' about the centre of the third concession and continues in a westerly direction until it strikes the road allowance between the third and fourth concessions of West Flamboro'. Here it turns to the south as far as Rockview, thence to the southeast across lot 23 in the third concession, thence in a circuitous course south and west, until it reaches the King's landing place, where it intersects the road leading westward to the Thames. On the early maps this latter road is called Dundas street, but is now generally spoken of as the Governor's Road.

The King's landing place consisted of a block of land containing about 60 acres, and was reserved as a town plot, at the head of bateau navigation on the west of Coote's Paradise. It was composed of 20 acres of the southern end of lot 17 in the first concession of West Flamboro', and 40 acres of the northern part of lot 53 of the first concession of Ancaster. In 1800 it was surveyed as a town plot, and received the name of Coote's Paradise, which was afterwards changed to Dundas in honor of Sir Henry Dundas.

An act was passed in 1798 dividing the province into twenty-two counties, which were grouped into nine districts. The townships of Ancaster, Barton, Binbrook, Glanford and Saltfleet formed part of the new district of Niagara, while Beverly and Flamboro' remained in the old Home district. It was at this time that Flamboro' was divided into East and West. The



WILLIAM MARTIN, WARDEN 1896.

royal assent to this act was reserved, and it did not come in force until 1st January, 1800.

From 1800 to 1816 no changes were made in any of the municipalities around the "Head of the Lake." At the latter date the new district of Gore was formed from parts of the Niagara and Home districts. It was named in honor of Sir Francis Gore, one of the early governors of this province. From its earliest settlement to this date, North Wentworth had for electoral purposes, formed part of the west riding of York, and South Wentworth part of the first riding of Lincoln. This new district was divided into two new counties named respectively Wentworth and Halton. The former comprised the townships of Saltfleet (including Burlington Beach), Barton including Burlington Heights), Binbrook, Glanford, Ancaster, and so much of the county of Haldimand as lies between Dundas street and the village of Onondaga, commonly called Bearsfoot, while the latter was composed of the townships of Trafalgar, Nelson, East and West Flamboro', Dumfries, Waterloo, Woolwich and Nichol, together with the reserved lands in the rear of Blenheim and Blanford.

The next important change in the system of local self-government in this province was the establishment of district municipal councils. In January, 1842, elections were held pursuant to the act chap. 10, 4th and 5th Victoria, when the following persons were duly elected to represent the various municipalities, viz. :

NAME.	TOWNSHIP.
Agnew, Andrew	Nassagaweya.
Biggar, Herbert	Brantford.
Bowen, Arthur	Barton.
Buchanan, Alexander	Dumfries.
Capron, Hiram	Dumfries.
Clarke, Samuel	Trafalgar.
Coleman, James	West Flamboro'.
Condon, J.	Saltfleet.
Dresser, Frederick	Ancaster.

NAME.	TOWNSHIP.
Good, Allen.....	Brantford.
Hannon, Joseph	Glanford.
Higgison, John	Puslinch.
Hopkins, Caleb.....	Nelson.
Kennedy, Chas	Esquesing.
Miller, John.....	Nelson.
Millard, I. K	East Flamboro'.
McKerlie, John.....	Binbrook.
McNaughton, Alex.....	Esquesing.
Nesbit, Stephen.....	Beverly.
Nichol, Alex.....	Puslinch.
Robinson, Walter	Beverly.
Servos, D. K.....	Barton.
Spohn, Philip	Ancaster.
Spencer, Joseph	West Flamboro'.
Waddell, Thos.....	Saltfleet.
White, John.....	Trafalgar.

John Wetenhall, Esq., was appointed the first warden by commission under the great seal of the Province and served five years. The first session opened on the 8th February, 1842. Samuel Clarke, Esq., was elected the second warden and served three years.

The Act passed in 1841 establishing District Councils was repealed in 1849, when the Harrison Municipal Act was passed. In 1850 the first elections were held under its provisions. Robert Spence, Esq., afterwards postmaster-general, was chosen first warden of the united counties of Wentworth and Halton, and served in that capacity for three years. The county of Brant was formed in 1851, and the municipality was called the United Counties of Wentworth, Halton and Brant, but at the expiration of one year Brant was erected into a separate county municipality. Wentworth and Halton remained united until the close of 1854, when Halton became a separate county for municipal purposes. The act separating Halton from Wentworth was passed in 1853, but did not go into effect

until certain conditions were fulfilled. When all matters of difference were amicably adjusted, and the conditions of separation complied with, the act of separation was carried into effect by proclamation of the Governor General. John Heslop, for many years clerk and treasurer of Ancaster, was elected first warden of the county of Wentworth, and served four years in succession. Since 1855 Wentworth has remained in its present form, and now comprises the following municipalities, viz.: Ancaster, Barton, Beverly, Binbrook, Flamboro' East, Flamboro' West, Glanford, Saltfleet, Waterdown and Dundas.

The following list gives the names of the different wardens elected in Wentworth, the municipalities they represented, and the position they filled in the township municipalities :

YEAR.	NAME.	OFFICE.	MUNICIPALITY.
1855	John Heslop	Reeve	Ancaster
1856	do	do	do
1857	do	do	do
1858	do	do	do
1859	Alexander Brown	Deputy Reeve	East Flamboro'
1860	do	do	do
1861	do	do	do
1862	do	do	do
1863	do	do	do
1864	do	do	do
1865	do	do	do
1866	do	do	do
1867	Alva G. Jones	Reeve	Saltfleet
1868	R. R. Waddell	do	Barton
1869	do	do	do
1870	Thomas Bain	do	West Flamboro'
1871	Alonzo Eggleston	do	Ancaster
1872	James Somerville	do	Dundas
1873	Thomas Stock	do	East Flamboro'
1874	do	do	do
1875	Peter Wood	do	Beverly



G. S. COUNSELL, COUNTY CLERK.

YEAR.	NAME.	OFFICE.	MUNICIPALITY.
1876	F. M. Carpenter....	Reeve.....	Saltfleet
1877	Thomas Stock	do	East Flamboro'
1878	John Weir, jr	do	West Flamboro'
1879	Thomas Stock	do	East Flamboro'
1880	do	do	do
1881	William Sexton	do	Ancaster
1882	do	do	do
1883	Thomas Lawry	do	Barton
1884	do	do	do
1885	T. H. A. Begue....	do	Dundas
1886	J. W. Jardine	do	Saltfleet
1887	A. R. Wardell.....	do	Dundas
1888	John Ira Flatt.....	do	East Flamboro'
1889	John W. Gage.....	do	Barton
1890	Robert Ferguson...	do	Beverly
1890	M. S. Wilson.....	Deputy Reeve....	Dundas
1891	John Dickenson....	Reeve.....	Glanford
1892	Arch. Cochrane	do	West Flamboro'
1893	Peter Reid	do	Saltfleet
1894	Wm. McClure	1st Deputy Reeve..	Beverly
1895	J. O. McGregor....	Reeve.....	Waterdown
1896	William Martin	do	Binbrook

When the Gore District Council was organized in 1842, Mr. Henry Beasley was appointed treasurer. He remained in office four years, when Mr. James Kirkpatrick was chosen to succeed him. Mr. Kirkpatrick's term of office extended from the beginning of 1846 to the close of 1876, when he retired. His successor was Mr. John T. Stock, who tendered his resignation to take effect on the 1st of August, 1895. The present treasurer, Mr. Archibald Cochrane, was then appointed as the successor of Mr. Stock.

Dr. E. Cartwright Thomas was chosen clerk of the Gore District Council at its organization in 1840, and remained in office one year, when he was appointed sheriff. He was succeeded by Mr. H. W. Jackson, who served in this capacity

four years, when he retired. His successor was Mr. James Durand, who remained in office until the close of 1849, when the District Councils were superseded by the County Councils. In 1850 the first County Council for the united counties of Wentworth and Halton was organized, and Mr. Charles O. Counsell was appointed clerk. He remained in office until his death in October, 1860, when he was succeeded by his son, Mr. G. S. Counsell, who now discharges the duties of this office.

In 1871 Mr. J. H. Smith was appointed Public School Inspector, and has held office since that time.

Modifications in our system of local self-government are frequently made, especially in working out the details of our assessment and municipal systems. In recent years the number of members sent to our county councils throughout the province, as well as the cost of maintaining them, has increased to such an extent that some changes in the constitution of these governing bodies were rendered necessary. These changes are embodied in an act passed during the second session of the eighth legislature of Ontario and cited as "The County Councils Act, 1896." Under its provisions each county is divided into not less than four nor more than nine divisions or districts. The fundamental basis for this division is population, but assessed value and extent of territory are also taken into consideration. Local municipalities are not to be divided except where it is plainly necessary to do so in order to arrive at a just and equitable division, but no polling sub-division is to be divided. These districts are technically called "County Council Divisions" and are designated by numbers, as "First County Council Division," "Second County Council Division," and so forth. In each division the county councillors, who must be residents of such division, are elected by ballot each alternate year. This gives the persons elected a two year's term of office. Voters have the option of casting both their votes for one candidate, or they may give a vote to each of two candidates. This is an attempt to solve the problem of minority representation as between local municipalities. No member of the council of a local municipality, nor any clerk, treasurer, assessor or collector

is eligible as a candidate. The necessary machinery is duly provided for the proper nomination of candidates, recording and counting the votes, declaring who is elected, and fixing the qualifications of voters and candidates.

Under authority of this act the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council appoints commissioners to divide the various counties in this province into suitable districts. His honor Judge Bell, of Kent, and his honor Judge Horne, of Essex, were appointed to form the necessary county council divisions in Wentworth. The following is their report on this matter :

"To His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in Council:

"We, the undersigned commissioners, appointed under 'The County Council's Act of 1896,' by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, to divide the County of Wentworth into County Council divisions, report:—That having duly heard and considered all the evidence adduced before us, and having had due regard to the provisions of the said act, we have divided the said County into six County Council divisions as follows, that is to say :

"1. The First County Council Division to consist of the township of Beverly.

"2. The Second County Council Division to consist of the township of Ancaster.

"3. The Third County Council Division to consist of the township of Flamborough East, the village of Waterdown, and that part of the township of Flamborough West lying north of a line between the north and south halves of lots one to twenty-one, inclusive, in the fourth concession, and also comprising the south halves of lots six and seven¹ in the fourth concession of said township.

"The Fourth County Council Division to consist of the town of Dundas and all that part of the township of Flamborough West not included in the Third County Council Division as hereinbefore set forth.

(1) These half lots form part of a polling division, and the law specially directs that "in no case shall polling sub-divisions be divided."



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"5. The Fifth County Council Division to consist of the township of Barton and Glanford.

"6. The Sixth County Council Division to consist of the township of Saltfleet and Binbrook.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

"Dated at Hamilton, in the said County of Wentworth, this eleventh day of July, A. D. 1896.

"(Signed) A. BELL, } Commissioners."
 C. R. HORNE, }

The first election under this act was held on Monday, the 4th of January, 1897, when the following county councilors were elected :

First County Council Division, Alex. Ironside, Thomas S. Henderson.

Second County Council Division, Edward Kenrick, B. A., J. B. Calder.

Third County Council Division, J. O. McGregor, M. D., T. F. Easterbrook.

Fourth County Council Division, Edward Collins, David Patterson.

Fifth County Council Division, James Marshall, John W. Gage.

Sixth County Council Division, Murray Pettit, N. S. Cornell.

The County Council held its first session under the new regime on Tuesday, the 29th of January, 1897, when Dr. J. O. McGregor, of Waterdown, was duly elected warden.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Evils of War — Its Effects on Canadians — Injustice of this War — The Situation in Canada — A Crisis Reached — Some Causes Affecting the War — “Berlin Decree” — First “Order-in-Council” — Second “Order-in-Council” — “Milan Decree” — “Embargo Act” — “Non-Intercourse Act” — Repeal of the “Order-in-Council” — Conquest of Canada the Real Object of War — American Opinions For and Against War — Formal Declaration of War — Campaign of 1812 — Campaign of 1813 — First Retreat of General Vincent — Government House Destroyed — The Crisis of the War — Battle of Stony Creek — Mrs. Secord’s Journey — Beaver Dam — Naval Engagement off Burlington Beach — Reverses in the West — Tecumseh — Rendezvous at Ancaster — Council of War at Burlington Heights — Results of the War.

By the splendor of its trappings, by the martial ardor which it inspires, by the heroic bravery of its devotees, and by the pomp and pageantry of its surroundings, war carries the mind of man away from its stern realities and shocking barbarities, where

“Naked plains and ravag’d fields
Succeed to smiling harvests and the fruits
Of peaceful ‘labor.’”

Could we, if only in imagination, visit the battle field after the struggle is over, and see the mangled forms of the dead and dying, witness the desolation and destruction that follow in its train, and hear the wail of the widow and orphan as they mourn over loved ones, how differently should we look upon it! With what deep feelings of solicitude would our hearts be stirred if even rumors of war should reach the quiet of our homes! But how much greater would the intensity of these feelings be if the pleasant valleys and hills of our native land should ever resound to the measured tread of invading armies!

Some such thoughts must naturally have arisen in the minds of these pioneer settlers when they learned that the authorities of the American Republic had openly proclaimed war against Great Britain. Among the peaceably disposed inhabitants of Canada, whose only crime appears to have been a warm attachment to the mother country and an honest devotion to her laws and institutions, these alarming reports must have spread feelings of terror and dismay. To see their homes and their loved ones exposed to all the hardships and privations of an unprovoked war, and to witness the ruin of their country at the hands of a kindred people speaking the same language, and holding in common the traditions of a glorious past, nerved them to deeds of valor and aroused a spirit of resistance that must ever command the respect and admiration of their posterity. Our forefathers had not forgotten the bitter experiences of the Revolutionary struggle, nor yet had the courage which animated them during these trying times died out in the breasts of their sons. True in their devotion to British rule, and inspired by a deep patriotic enthusiasm, they at once organized themselves into battalions of militia, took up arms, and were ready to lay down their lives in defence of home and country.

Whatever reasons there may have been to provoke the colonists to revolt in 1776, it is quite evident that the verdict of history does not in any way recognize the justice of the declaration of war in 1812. The difficulties that arose during the few preceding years might have been peaceably adjusted by the diplomatic agents of the two countries, had not a reckless Democratic majority bent on conquest, determined to invade the homes of their peaceful and inoffensive neighbors to the north. This they did, but not one acre of territory was annexed, nor yet did they gain one single permanent advantage. On the contrary, it strengthened the allegiance of the Canadian people and bound them more closely to the throne of Great Britain.

At this time the situation in Canada was indeed precarious. With a population of less than 300,000 all told, and these widely scattered in small settlements without any means of rapid com-

munication, with a long and exposed boundary, and with the mother country embroiled in European wars, is it at all surprising that the hearts of these sturdy pioneers were filled with misgivings as to the fate of these colonies? Did not the burden seem greater than they could bear? Had they not been strong in their allegiance to Great Britain, and true to the principles of their forefathers, these provinces would have been conquered, and Britain would have been stripped of her colonial possessions in America. However, Providence had decreed otherwise, and we are now left to work out our destiny as part of that Greater Britain "upon whose shores the sun never sets." May we then, as Canadians, be true to our country, loyal to that great Empire of which we form a part, and ever bear in mind that this is the

"Land of the beautiful and brave,
The freeman's home—the martyr's grave,
The nursery of giant men,
Whose deeds have link'd with every glen
And every hill and mountain stream
The romance of some warrior dream."

In the western province the situation was even more desperate than it was in the east. When the war broke out it was estimated that the population of Upper Canada did not exceed 80,000. These were grouped in small settlements along the frontier, and were exposed to attack both by land and water. The principal centres were along the northern banks of the St. Lawrence, at Kingston, around the Bay of Quinte, at York (now Toronto), around the head of Lake Ontario, and along the Niagara river, with a few settlements on Lake Erie and the River Detroit. When we consider the sparseness of the population, for it did not exceed that of the County of Wentworth and the City of Hamilton combined, and the long frontier they were called upon to defend, the outcome of the war is indeed gratifying. Nor was the want of population the only drawback. The means of communication between these widely separated settlements was particularly bad, for the country had been settled less than thirty years, and the roads

in most cases were merely paths cut through the forests. This rendered the transportation of troops and supplies a long and arduous task. The rapid concentration of an army at a given point is essential to the successful defence of any country. In addition to these disadvantages the mother country was engaged in war on the continent, and could not furnish the necessary troops to defend her colonies as she would have done had she been free from European entanglements.

There are crises in the lives of nations as in the lives of men. So in these colonies a crisis had come, and that was whether they should maintain their allegiance to Britain intact, or become a part and parcel of the American Republic. Thanks to the resolute determination of these grand old U. E. Loyalists and their descendants we are still under the care and protection of the British flag. James Russell Lowell says :

“ Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife with Truth and Falsehood, for the good or evil side ;
Some great cause, God’s new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever, ’twixt that darkness and that light.

* * * * * * *

Backward look across the ages and the beacon moments see,
That, like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through Oblivion’s sea,
Not an ear in court or market for the low forboding cry
Of those crises, God’s stern winnowers, from whose feet earth’s chaff
must fly,
Never shows the choice momentous, till the judgment hath passed by.”

The crisis in the colonies was only a part of a greater crisis in the history of mankind that was reaching its culminating point on the continent of Europe. Intoxicated by his success in the past, and lured on by an insatiable ambition, Napoleon crossed the Nieman on his fatal march to Moscow, six days after President Madison had issued his declaration of war against Great Britain. Like Alexander of old, he followed the phantom of Universal Empire. It eluded his grasp. He died an exile on St. Helena.

The United States declared war against Great Britain on the 18th June, 1812, exactly three years before the decisive

battle of Waterloo. Some of the causes that led to the gradual estrangement of the good will of the young Republic from the mother country and eventually brought about the declaration of war are to be found in the series of events that occurred in Europe during the six preceding years. Embittered by the memories of the terrible blow inflicted on his navy at Trafalgar and the Nile, Napoleon, when the Prussian monarchy had been humbled at Jena, turned fiercely upon Great Britain, and attempted the destruction of her commerce by issuing the famous "Berlin Decree."¹ This decree was formally promulgated on the 21st of November, 1806, from Berlin, the Prussian capital. Although it did not extinguish British commerce, yet it inflicted serious damage upon it, and caused heavy losses to many of her merchants. The rigorous enforcement of this decree compelled the British ministry to adopt defensive measures. Accordingly, on the 7th of January, 1807, the first "Order-in-Council"² was issued. At first this was well received in the United States, but afterwards it was made a pretext for war. In June, 1807, an unfortunate incident occurred in the too rigid enforcement of the "right of search." The American frigate *Chesapeake* had on board some deserters from the British navy, whose return had been demanded by the British Consul at Norfolk, and by the captains of the vessels from which they had deserted. These demands were refused. Acting under instructions from Admiral Berkeley, Captain Humphries, of H. M. ship *Leopard*, followed the *Chesapeake* to sea, and, coming up with her, intimated that he desired to send a message to the commander. A letter was sent asking that the deserters, whose names were given, be restored to the British. Commodore Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, refused to comply with this request, whereupon the *Leopard* fired a broadside. A short skirmish ensued, which ended in the American vessel striking her colors and restoring the deserters. This incident aroused a strong feeling of antipathy against Britain, which was greatly strengthened by the issue of an angry proclamation by the President on the 2nd of July following.

(1) See "Berlin Decree" in last Chapter.

(2) See "Order-in-Council" in last Chapter.

Events in Europe forced the British ministry to issue a second "Order-in-Council," which was done on the 11th of November, 1807. Napoleon, on the 17th of the following December, issued the "Milan Decree" as an answer. Intelligence from Europe plainly indicated to the American authorities that the policy of France did not exempt the United States from the operations of the "Berlin Decree." Acting upon this information Congress, on the 25th of December of that year, passed the "Embargo Act," which excluded all foreign vessels from sharing in the coasting trade.

Public opinion, which was constantly being fomented by demagogues and partizan politicians, steadily increased in its hostility towards Great Britain. To allay this feeling, and to offer reparation for the affair of the Chesapeake, the British ministry sent an envoy extraordinary to America. His mission failed owing to the refusal of the President to withdraw the proclamation of the 2nd of July. The "Embargo Act" seriously injured American commerce, and was soon superseded by a "Non-Intercourse Act," which failed to satisfy either its promoters or the public, and was therefore repealed. Another maritime encounter between the American 44-gun frigate, *President*, and the British 18-gun sloop, *Little Belt*, which was destroyed on this occasion, added to the complications already existing. The American captain was tried by court martial and acquitted. Great Britain accepted the official statement that no hostility was intended on the part of the American government. The Americans had made an offer that if France would withdraw her decrees, or England the orders-in-council, she would prohibit her commerce from the other. Napoleon promised to revoke the "Berlin" and "Milan Decrees" if the Americans would carry out the policy of non-intercourse with Britain. This they did, but Napoleon failed to fulfil his promises.

The downfall of the Percival ministry in Great Britain brought Lord Liverpool to the premiership. With him was associated Lord Castlereagh as Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Twelve days after this ministry was formed the obnoxious

"Orders-in-Council" were revoked. But it was too late. Congress had already declared war against Great Britain, and was massing her armies along the frontier of Canada.

From the tone of the President's message, and the tenor of the speeches delivered in Congress by some of the leading members of the Democratic party, it was clearly foreshadowed that Canada would be the objective point. They were quite confident of an easy conquest, as may be seen from the following extracts from speeches made in Congress prior to the declaration of war. Dr. Eustis, United States Secretary of War, said: "We can take Canada without soldiers; we have only to send officers into the provinces, and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard." The Hon. Henry Clay, who, in 1814, signed the treaty of peace as one of the commissioners, expressed himself still more strongly: "It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean, and the way to conquer her on the ocean is to drive her from the land. We must take the continent from them. I wish never to see a peace till we do. God has given us the power and the means; we are to blame if we do not use them. If we get the continent she must allow us the freedom of the seas."¹

The proclamation issued by Brigadier-General Smyth, of the army on the Niagara, and addressed "to the soldiers of the centre," leaves still less doubt as to the ultimate purpose of the American authorities. We give a few extracts from this document which is dated at "Camp, near Buffalo, 17th November, 1812":

"*Companions in arms!* The time is at hand when you will cross the streams of Niagara to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier.

"You will enter a country that is to be *one of the United States*. You will arrive among a people who are to become *your fellow citizens*. It is not *against them* that we come to

(1) Quoted from the Canadian Magazine.

make war. It is against that government which *holds them as vassals*.

"You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in their persons, and in their property as far as our imperious necessities will allow."

He concludes his proclamation with the following appeal:

"*Soldiers of every corps!* It is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country, and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards.

"*Companions in arms!* You came to vanquish a valiant foe; I know the choice you will make. Come on, my heroes! and when you attack the enemy's batteries, let your rallying word be **THE CANNON LOST AT DETROIT OR DEATH.**"¹

It is to be borne in mind, however, that the American people were by no means unanimous in their desire for war. While the matter was under discussion it was vigorously opposed by many influential members of Congress, and was finally carried by a comparatively small majority. In the New England States popular feeling was very strong against it, and the intensity of this feeling on the part of the inhabitants of Boston and vicinity was shown by displaying their flags at half-mast as an emblem of mourning, and by mass meetings at which resolutions were passed denouncing it as subversive of the principles of American liberty, and antagonistic to their national interests. Its principal advocates were the representatives from southern and western States, while those from the north and east were strongly opposed to it.

The Americans were ambitious of securing possession of and controlling the destinies of the whole of North America. Actuated by this motive, and taking advantage of the time when Britain was engaged in a fierce struggle with the first Napoleon, and when she was taxed to the utmost to maintain

(1) Quoted from Anglo-American Magazine.

her supremacy, nay, even when her very existence as one of the great powers of Europe was threatened, the American Congress openly declared war. Their avowed object was to redress certain alleged grievances, notably some "Orders-in-Council" prohibiting all foreign vessels from trading with the French, and the "right of search" for deserters from the navy, but the real purpose as shewn by subsequent actions was the acquisition of the provinces of British North America. These "Orders-in-Council" as well as the "right of search" which formed the chief grounds of complaint, were withdrawn by Britain, but the Americans still persisted in going on with the war.

The plan of campaign adopted by the Americans was to invade Canada by way of Lake Champlain in the east, by the Niagara river in the centre, and by the River Detroit in the west. Sir Isaac Brock, who was administrator during the absence of Sir Francis Gore, determined to make the first attack. Consequently he sent Captain Roberts to Fort Michillimackinac, which was surprised and taken. This confirmed the allegiance of the northwest Indians, and secured a valuable strategic point to the British. General Hull crossed the Detroit river at Sandwich, summoned the Canadians to lay down their arms, and submit themselves to the Americans. This they bravely refused to do, and defied both him and his army. In the meantime General Brock issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Fort George, to allay the fears and strengthen the hands of the people in the west. He also sent Colonel Proctor with a small force to aid the garrison at Amhurstburg. General Hull was driven back to Detroit, and forced to surrender, which he did with the best grace possible. Along the Niagara river the Americans were defeated at Queenston Heights, while at Rouse's Point, in the east, they retired after a slight skirmish. Doubtless the temper of the Canadian people was a disappointment to them, for they anticipated an easy victory. In this they were very much deceived, for instead of being welcomed with open arms they met with the most determined resistance. Thus ended the campaign of 1812, with the

British successful at all points, but with the loss of their brave commander, Sir Isaac Brock,—

“The mind that thought for Britain’s weal,
The hand that grasped the victor’s steel.”

The Americans conducted the campaign of 1813 on lines somewhat similar to that of 1812, but instead of attempting the conquest of the whole of British North America, they concentrated their efforts on the province of Upper Canada. The American forces had been greatly strengthened during the winter, both on Lake Ontario and along the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey made an attack on York, the capital of Upper Canada, and on the 27th of April succeeded in capturing it. Here they remained until the 2nd of May, destroying the public buildings and plundering the churches and library. They then made a descent upon Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara river, where General Vincent was stationed with an army numbering something less than 1,400 men. Being unable to hold this position against the superior forces concentrated upon it, he retreated towards Burlington Heights.

On the 11th of May, 1813, while the American fleet were on their way to Niagara, they destroyed “Government House” on Burlington Beach. The following account of this place is taken from a topographical description of Upper Canada issued under the authority of Lieutenant Governor Sir Francis Gore :

“At the south end of the Beach is the King’s Head, a good inn, erected for the accommodation of travellers by order of his Excellency, Major General Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor. It is beautifully situated at a small portage leading from the head of a natural canal (Lottridge’s Inlet), and connecting Burlington Bay with Lake Ontario. Burlington Bay is perhaps as beautiful and romantic a situation as any in interior America, particularly if we include with it a marshy lake which falls into it, and a noble promontory (Burlington Heights) that divides them. This is called Coot’s Paradise, and abounds with game.” The King’s Head Inn was more familiarly known as “Government House,” and was used as a distributing centre

for presents to the Indians, who received gifts annually as compensation for lands taken for settlement. Among those who had charge of this inn were Augustus Jones, William Bates and Robert Lottridge.

Affairs in Upper Canada were rapidly approaching a crisis that was to decide the fate of the Canadas. There were only some 2,100 British troops available for the defence of the Upper Province. These were assisted by a noble band of militia who were determined to contest every foot of ground. The American army on the Niagara frontier numbered fully 6,000, and this, with the superiority of the American fleet on Lake Ontario, rendered the conquest of this province extremely probable. After the capture of Niagara, and the retreat of General Vincent to Burlington Heights, the military authorities were so disheartened that they determined to disband the militia, and abandon the western portion of this province to its fate. Accordingly, on the 28th of May the militia were disbanded, and told that they might go home if they chose to do so. Some few returned to their homes to protect their families, and look after their private interests, but the great majority followed the army to Burlington Heights, determined to do all in their power to drive out the invaders. The Hon. W. H. Merritt, in his journal of the war, says: "I strongly suspected from the indifferent manner in which the militia were treated, that the Upper Province was to be abandoned, which opinion was entertained by most people. * * * * I felt in a sad dilemma. The thought of abandoning the country and leaving everything that was near and dear to me was most distressing."

During the night of the 5th and the morning of the 6th of June the battle of Stony Creek was fought, with the advantage decidedly in favor of the British. For a more detailed account of this memorable battle the reader is referred to the next chapter. A few days after the successful issue of this midnight sortie Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, with a detachment of the 49th, a small body of Indians and a few militia, captured Colonel Boerstler's force at Beaver Dam, securing upwards of 500 pris-

oners. It was just prior to this battle that Mrs. Secord made her heroic journey on foot through the forests to warn the British of their danger.

Mrs. Secord, widow of the late James Secord, who was fatally wounded at Queenston, obtained information of the plans of the Americans to surprise Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, then stationed near Beaver Dam. She was slight in person, delicate in health, and worn with care and anxiety on account of the death of her husband, and the loss of her home. The dangers with which she was surrounded, and difficulties she overcame while making this memorable journey, are here given in her own words: "I shall commence at the battle of Queenston, where I was at the time the cannon balls were flying around me in every direction. I left the place during the engagement. After the battle I returned to Queenston, and then found that my husband had been wounded, my house plundered and my property destroyed. It was while the Americans had possession of the frontier that I learned the plans of the American commander, and determined to put the British troops under Fitzgibbon in possession of them, and, if possible, to save the British troops from capture, or perhaps total destruction. In doing so I found I should have great difficulty in getting through the American guards, which were ten miles out in the country. Determined to persevere, however, I left early in the morning, walked nineteen miles in the month of June over a rough and difficult part of the country, when I came to a field belonging to a Mr. Decamp, in the neighborhood of the Beaver Dam. By this time daylight had left me. Here I found all the Indians encamped; by moonlight the scene was terrifying, and to those accustomed to such scenes, might be considered grand. Upon advancing to the Indians they all rose, and with some yells, said, "woman," which made me tremble. I cannot express the awful feeling it gave me; but I did not lose my presence of mind. I was determined to persevere. I went up to one of the chiefs, made him understand that I had great news for Capt. Fitzgibbon, and that he must let me pass to his camp, or that he and all his party

would be all taken. The chief at first objected to let me pass, but finally consented, after some hesitation, to go with me to Fitzgibbon's station, which was at the Beaver Dam, where I had an interview with him. I told him what I had come for, and what I had heard,—that the Americans intended to make an attack upon the troops under his command, and would, from their superior numbers, capture them all. I returned home next day exhausted and fatigued.”¹ For some time after this event military affairs remained very quiet along the Niagara frontier.

On the 28th of September, the squadron on Lake Ontario, under command of Commodore Chauncey, met the British off Toronto harbor. The Americans seeing they had the advantage both in armament and in tonnage, at once offered battle. The British Admiral seeing clearly the disadvantages under which he labored, declined to accept the challenge, knowing that it probably meant the destruction of his fleet. In the skirmish which ensued, the British ship *Wolf* had her maintop mast and mainyard severely damaged, and the *Royal George*, under Captain Mulcaster, had her foretop mast shot away. The American vessel *Tompkins* had her foremast, and the *Pike* her bowsprit and mainmast badly injured. One of the heavy guns on the *Pike* burst, killing some 22 men, and doing serious damage to the vessel. The British directed their course towards Burlington Bay, the Americans gave chase, but the pursuit was soon relinquished. An American writer says, “This much is clear, that the British were beaten and forced to flee, * * * but in good weather the American force was so superior that being beaten would have been no disgrace to Yeo.” This naval battle was witnessed by many of the old residents of Saltfleet, who came to the brow of the mountain and watched it with eager interest.

In the west General Proctor had met with such a series of reverses that he deemed it prudent to retire to Burlington Heights, where he hoped to join the army of the Centre, under

(1) Quoted from *Anglo-American Magazine*.

General Vincent. The American army opposed to him, and which numbered fully 6,000 men, of whom from 1,200 to 1,500 were cavalry and mounted riflemen, were under the command of General William Henry Harrison. Encumbered as the British were with a large amount of baggage, their movements were necessarily slow. This enabled the Americans to overtake them and force a battle, which they did at Moraviantown, a village on the river Thames. The entire force opposed to the Americans amounted to 476 men, of whom not more than 20 were dragoons, and a body of Indians numbering about 500, under the celebrated Indian Chief, Tecumseh. This battle was fought on the 5th of October, and the Americans were victorious.

It was at this battle that the celebrated Indian warrior Tecumseh met with his death in the forty-fourth year of his age. A writer in the *Anglo-American Magazine* thus describes this noble Indian: "He was of the Shawnee tribe, five feet ten inches high, and with more than the usual stoutness, possessed all the agility and perseverance of the Indian character. His carriage was dignified, his eyes penetrating, and his countenance, even in death, betrayed the indications of a lofty spirit rather than of the sterner cast. Had he not possessed a certain austerity of manners, he could never have controlled the wayward passions of those who followed him to the battle. He was of a silent habit, but when his eloquence became roused into action by the reiterated encroachments of the Americans, his strong intellect could supply him with a flow of oratory that enabled him as he governed in the field so to preside in the Council." He was wounded in the thigh during the early part of the battle, and was carried to the rear, where he cheered his warriors and directed them in battle. Suddenly these cries ceased, and he was found still in death, a rifle shot had pierced his breast. His body was borne far into the forest he loved so well, where he was buried. His friends erased all traces of his grave, and took a solemn oath never to reveal the place of his sepulture, well knowing that the Americans, in their in-

tense hatred towards him, would desecrate his grave and dishonor his remains.

The defeat of the British at Moraviantown forced them to continue their retreat. After a long and toilsome journey, during which they endured severe privations, and suffered greatly from the hardships incident to a march through an almost unbroken forest, they reached the village of Ancaster on the 17th of the same month. When the inhabitants of this quiet country place heard of the reverses in the west, and saw the straggling groups of soldiers as they entered the village, their minds were filled with grave apprehensions as to their own safety. It seemed to them inevitable that they should witness the destruction of their homes and property. The panic spread rapidly, but as no victorious army followed, quiet was soon restored. The remnant of Proctor's army reached Burlington Heights, where they met the Centre army on their retreat from Niagara, for Sir George Prevost had issued orders to General Vincent to evacuate all the British posts, and to retire to Kingston with the least possible delay. At Burlington Heights they held a council of war, when it was decided that the western part of the province should be defended at all hazards.

As the purpose of this sketch is simply to narrate the events directly affecting the interests of this portion of the province, it will not be necessary to continue in detail the records of this war. Suffice it to say that the British were victorious at Chrysler's Farm, Chateauguay, La Colle Mill, Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. In the early part of 1814, the general European war ceased for a while, and this left Britain free to look after her interests in America. The seat of war was transferred almost entirely to the United States, her ports blockaded, and her commerce seriously crippled. On the 14th of December, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was concluded and peace restored.

When the war began the Americans were confident of victory, and felt assured that the Canadas would soon become a part of the Republic. The results were not gratifying either to their pride or their ambition, nor did they add to their laurels

as a nation. On the contrary they suffered defeat, when the victory was within reach; they sent glowing reports innocent of truth, and unbacked by action, and they issued pompous proclamations which accomplished nothing. In short, the conduct of the war from the first was marked by incompetency on the part of the managers, a lack of enthusiasm in the armies, and a mutual want of confidence in the commanding generals. They saw their merchantmen captured, their foreign trade destroyed, their revenues decreased, and the credit of the nation impaired to such an extent that they could not negotiate a loan with which to prosecute the war. When happily this unfortunate struggle was brought to a close, the grievance of which the Americans complained—the right of search and the freedom of neutral nations in times of war—formed no part of the treaty of peace. The results briefly summed up were, heavy losses to the nation without any corresponding benefit.

The Canadians suffered much from this war. Their homes were wrecked, their property destroyed, their farms left untilled, and in some instances their towns and villages were sacked and burned. The loss of life was great when compared with the smallness of the population, their expenses were heavy considering the sources of income and the wealth of the people, while trade and commerce were almost totally demoralized. On the other hand this war developed a strong Canadian sentiment, strengthened them in their allegiance to the mother land, inspired them with a spirit of self-reliance, and united the British and French in their patriotic devotion to a common country. The recurrence of another such war is not at all probable, but should it ever come, which God forbid, the same spirit of devotion, the same heroism of action, and the same indomitable courage would characterize the descendants of those brave pioneers who suffered and died for the cause of home and country.

CHAPTER IX.

The Crisis of the War — Events Preceding the Battle — Landing of the Americans — W. H. Merritt's Dragoons — Reconnoissance by Col. Harvey — Gen. Dearborn's Movements — General Winder's Advance — Chandler's Brigade — Description of Stony Creek — Burlington Heights — Hamilton — Americans at Stony Creek — Position of American Army — Planning the Attack — Advance of the British — Isaac Corman Taken Prisoner — William Green's Night Journey — Countersign Given — Corman's Second Arrest — "Billy Green, the Scout" — F. G. Snider's Account — Col. Harvey's Attack — Perilous Position of the 49th — Capt. Merritt's Escape — Retreat of Americans — Statement of Losses — Concluding Remarks.

A PICTURE with true perspective gives to the eye an accurate representation of the scene which it depicts, so the placing of the battle of Stony Creek, and the council of war at Burlington Heights in their true historical perspective, enables us to form a more correct estimate of their importance. The time at which these events occurred was undoubtedly the crucial period of our history, and the loyalty and devotion of the people were tried as if by fire. The crisis of the war was safely passed, although unknown to the actors in the struggle. These two places are indeed historic ground, and as Canadians we should show our appreciation of their true worth by erecting some monument to commemorate these events.

"Yet this 'battle' sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow keeping watch above his own.
We see dimly in the present what is small and what is great,
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate."

By the kind permission of J. P. Merritt, Esq., of Oakhill, St. Catharines, the following extract from the diary of the late Hon. W. H. Merritt, M. P., describing the events preceding the battle of Stony Creek, is herewith inserted:

“On the evening of the 29th of April I was deputed by Brigadier General Vincent to bring down all the boats from Burlington, which was accomplished in sixteen hours. The enemy, with their fleet, returned to Fort Niagara. From this time till the 27th of May every man was turned out at two o'clock in the morning, and remained under arms. Some men were twelve nights in succession on guard. Our small force was formed into three divisions; Col. Myers, with ‘Kings,’ and two companies of militia, defended the lake coast to the Four Mile Creek; Col. Harvey, with three companies of Newfoundlands and three companies of Glengarrys, one company of the 41st, one company of the 44th, and two of militia, up the river to Queenston; General Vincent, with the 49th regiment and militia, in rear of Fort George, to act as occasion might require. Col. Harvey and myself rode up and down the river during the night and slept at day. On the 25th the enemy commenced operations by cannonading Fort George, which they burned. For want of ammunition we were unable to return the fire. On the 27th, at four in the morning, they were discovered under cover of a thick fog. They commenced to land at 9 a. m. Our right and left divisions were obliged to fall back on the reserve, which, numbering but 800 men, were forced to retire.

“After finding the boats commanded by Commodore Barclay who was at Twenty Mile Creek with the light company of the Kings, and ordering the troops down, I returned with them as far as ‘Shipman’s,’ where I was met by a message and ordered to go to De Cew’s, to which place the army had retreated. Remaining all night, I took the party through the woods, arriving there next morning at 9 o'clock on the 28th of May.

“This day the militia were disbanded and the regulars marched to Grimsby on the way to Burlington Heights. Early on the 29th I returned to the Twelve, at Shipman’s, where the enemy had its advance guards. I remained at my father’s until midnight, when I returned to Grimsby to report. Here I was ordered to remain with the troops and a few militia until

driven off by the enemy. Their appearance next day with a flag of truce, shortly followed by a party whose force caused me to retreat to Stony Creek on the 1st of June. During the next week we had several skirmishes in which I lost some of my men."

Mr. Merritt had previously organized a company of dragoons, and with these he was detailed to protect the rear of the retreating army. Being well acquainted with this section of country, he was able to do this work effectively, although it taxed his men to the utmost as they had little rest and scarcely any sleep for six or eight days. His acquaintance with the people enabled him to keep well posted in all the movements of the invaders. He used this knowledge to the great advantage of the British, but the enemy with their large invading force drove the pickets of the rear guard across the big creek near the Red Hill, and as far west as Aikman's. This was the position of the British when the Americans encamped near Stony Creek late in the afternoon of the 5th of June. Mr. Merritt, continuing his narrative, says:

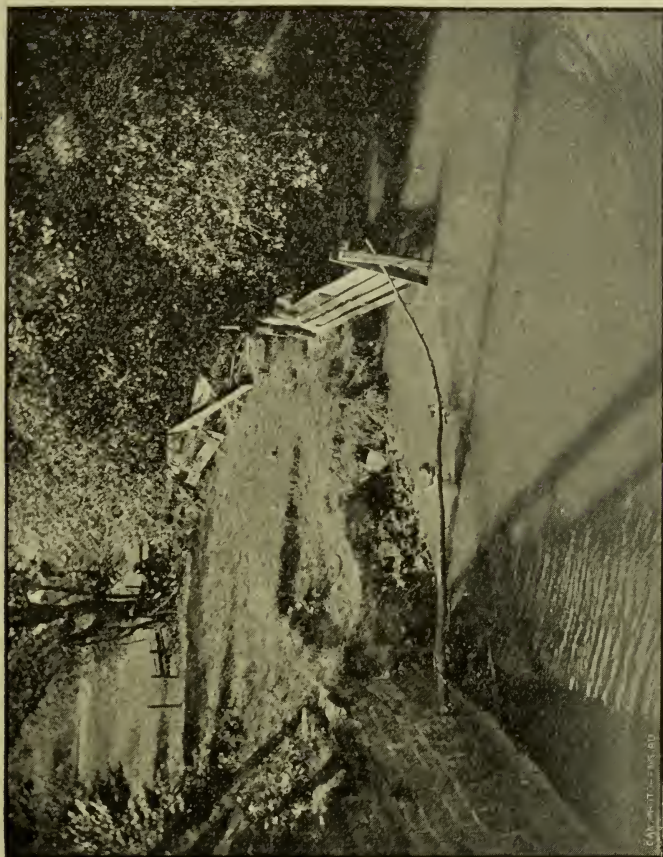
"A reconnoissance by Colonel Harvey and Cornet McKenney revealed the fact that the enemy were encamped for the night at Stony Creek, and that they had a party of 1,500 men on the lake shore. On the return of the party sometime near midnight when Mr. Merritt and a number of officers were lying on the grass fast asleep, a suggestion was made either by Cornet McKenney or Mr. George, an ensign in the militia, that it would be a good idea to attack the enemy in their camp, and probably surprise them before daylight shewed the real state of their numbers. Col. Harvey approved of the plan and proposed it to General Vincent, who after a little deliberation proceeded to carry it into effect, much to the joy of all who left their homes a few days ago in grief and sadness of heart.

"In the silence of a warm summer's night the order to advance was quietly given, and never were preparations for a deadly grapple with an invading foe more heartily received. It has been truly and eloquently said that the battle of Stony

Creek was neither a Waterloo nor an Inkerman, but that the issues at stake for the men of the Niagara peninsula were, everything equal, as important in their results as the success of the most dearly won field that ever the conquerors rested upon."

So many descriptions of this midnight sortie have appeared that it is a difficult matter to decide which is the most accurate. The writer has consulted official documents, collected as far as possible the traditions connected with this battle, and gathered information from all sources available with the view of giving a full and trustworthy account of it. In doing so he has quoted freely from an article prepared by E. B. Biggar, Esq., and published in the *Hamilton Spectator* in June, 1873. These extracts, which contain a graphic description of the battle-field and its environments, are supplemented by foot notes, and by a few paragraphs containing some additional information which was deemed essential to complete the narrative :

"When Vincent retreated towards Queenston he was followed by the American, Col. Scott, who succeeded in making prisoners of fifty British regulars. As soon as they had taken possession of the now dismantled and untenable fort and town (consisting of a few ruined houses), Gen. Dearborn was informed that Col. Proctor was on his way from the Detroit frontier to effect a junction with Gen. Vincent at Burlington Heights. Supposing this information to be correct Dearborn proposed to despatch part of his army to cut off Vincent's retreat and thus prevent their joining. This was agreed upon, and Gen. Winder, at his own request, was appointed to the duty. Accordingly he set out, but took the wrong road and was obliged to return. This caused a ruinous delay of two days, by which time Vincent had gained the Heights, and of course the idea of heading the retreat was then given up. Dearborn's intention was to transport his troops to Burlington Bay by the fleet, 'but,' says Auchinleck, 'the cabinet at Washington had given this arm of the expedition a different direction.' So two more days were spent in unresulting deliberations as to how to proceed. I will be pardoned for digressing somewhat from the subject to remark that it was fortunate for the British that



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they were opposed by the commander that they were. Gen. Dearborn was a man much advanced in years and was suffering from ill health at the time. In his younger days he had distinguished himself in the Revolution as a man of activity and daring; but was now in his dotage almost, and had he even possessed physical health and full powers of mind, it is doubtful if his abilities as a leader would have been equal to the task before him. His manœuvres, at the taking of York were ill-planned in the extreme, and his action in this and succeeding enterprises, clumsier and more ill-planned. The old general was recalled from his command just a month after the battle of Stony Creek, and Gen. Wilkinson, another old and equally incompetent leader, appointed as his successor.

“Again General Winder started with a brigade in pursuit of the British. This brigade, which included a corps of dragoons; Col. Burns’ detachment of cavalry (stated by G. Auchinleck to number 250); and Archer’s and Towson’s artillery, amounting to only 800 men, according to J. B. Lossing, the writer of ‘Sketches of the War, 1812.’ Another American work, however, states them at 1,450. Winder pushed rapidly on to the Twenty Mile Creek, at which place he was told that Vincent was posted strongly at Burlington Heights, and had received reinforcements from Kingston. Believing this (an invention, no doubt, of some unscrupulously patriotic denizen) to be true, he halted in his pursuit, and sent a request to Dearborn for more troops. In compliance with this another brigade was sent, under the command of General Chandler, who being the senior officer, took the chief command on his arrival. Lossing says that Chandler’s brigade counted 500 men, making the total American force 1,300. Auchinleck, the Canadian historian of the war, with a fairer appearance of accuracy, puts them down at 3,450. W. H. Merritt, speaking of them as encamped at Stony Creek, says there were ‘2,000 in the lane to the left, in advance of their artillery’ (and cavalry, which numbered 250). Placing the artillery at the moderate number of 350, there would then be 3,100. Besides these, a body of troops, whose number is unknown, came up the lake in seven-

teen batteaux. Reducing the conflicting statements of a dozen different authorities to a fair average, the two brigades could not have been less than 2,800 men. Chandler and Winder now moved forward to the Forty Mile Creek, where they drove off the mounted militiamen under Capt. Merritt. Having here ascertained more accurately the position and strength of the British they proceeded on their march, and towards evening on the 5th of June they arrived tired, hungry and thirsty, at a place which was soon to be the scene of disaster and defeat to themselves, but a most brilliant and glorious success for the British—Stony Creek.

“Before giving a view of the subsequent incidents it may be well to give some idea of what constituted Stony Creek and Burlington Heights, so that the reader may better understand the relative position and surroundings of the two armies. Neither of these two places had any claims at that time to the title of village even. Stony Creek was a stream which took its rise in a swampy tract of woodland some miles beyond or south of that ridge of land known as the ‘mountain,’ the same ridge over which the great Niagara thunders, and winding north-west poured over this; then running northward through the present village emptied into a small lagoon which stretches in from the shore of Lake Ontario. The creek is not perennial but in the spring and fall a most beautiful falls is formed at the escarpment where the water pours over from its summit in one unbroken descent of 80 to 100 feet. The great, symmetrical regular oval wall of grey rocks from whose summit the water pours into a rocky basin beneath; the majestic evergreen crown of pines and hemlocks encircling and overlooking its brow with conscious imperiousness; the undergrowth that overhangs and fringes like a valance the rugged edge of rocks; and further on the shrubbery which carpets the steep banks of the canon that gazes on the rich valley beneath; and the grand and picturesque boulders piled confusedly together (and which bear still on their faces the evidence of old Ontario) make up a picture which the traveler might look upon hundreds of times without losing any of its variety or enchanting picturesqueness.

After leaving the foot of the falls its waters dash gaily down over rocky ledges to the level below and then course over a complete bed of small, loose stones to its outlet. From this it derives its name of "Stoney Creek." Our ancestors spelt it "Stoney," and that error is now a confirmed custom with the inhabitants, though it has been discarded in this sketch. A narrow, crooked, rough road ran west from Queenston to the Heights,¹ and round the lake to York and Kingston. On this road, hard by Stony Creek, lived Edward Brady, who kept a small log tavern. About a hundred yards east of the creek and nearly opposite him, lived Stephen Jones (father of the present Judge of the County of Brant), who also kept a log tavern. Another log shanty was built close to this, but the occupant's name is in oblivion. Adam Green, (after whom Greentown is called) lived on the hill in a log house west of the creek, on the spot now occupied by H. Spera's house. Just below this on the bank was an old water-power saw-mill. Nearly a half mile west of the creek, and overlooking the battle ground from a hill on the south was James Gage's house; his brother William lived some distance across the road on another hill. The house of the latter is the only one that still stands entire, as it stood then. Nearly between these two, close by the road was a little log cabin in which a man named Lappin lived. An unfinished frame house (said to be the only frame house in the parts except one) stood by the creek. There was only one more building besides these, but it was the finest and best of all. It was the old church.

"It stood upon a hill; a gentle hill,
Green, and of wild declivity,"

and in the centre of what is now the grave yard, a yard then dotted by scarce a tombstone. It was built by the Wesleyan Methodists, and was, with the single exception of the Grand River stone chapel, the oldest church in Western Ontario, or (it is said) in the whole Province. Long before the year 1800 the settlers used to come a distance of twenty or thirty miles to

(1) This road was built on the old Indian trail from Niagara to Mohawk village.

listen to itinerant preachers in this church. It was built with the labor of the settlers and without money; its clapboarded sides never saw paint; its inside walls never knew plaster or whitewash; its humble altar glittered with not an ornament, no great chandelier shed its light on a fashionably dressed audience at night, nor organ pealed its thundering accompaniment to a trained choir. Its only steeple was the chimney top that towered over its old fire-place—for there were no foundries or stoves then. Still its pious congregation looked proudly upon it as a grand edifice. (Years after the war it was repaired and refitted, however, and was still the finest chapel in this part of the country. It was torn down in 1871.) Two miles west of Stony Creek, William Davis kept a tavern, near the bank of the Big Creek close by the road. It was here that Colonels Harvey and Murray boarded for a time during the war. The story is told how an awkward and verdant youth named McNabb (afterwards Sir Allan) was introduced to Murray in this house, and became so confused in being presented to one whom he thought so great a man that he kicked over his chair in rising; and how he afterwards said he believed he would have rushed out of the house had he not been brought to his senses by a grim smile of assurance from Murray. Farther up the road was another house—still standing on the present site of Bartonville—then the only representative house of that village. Farther yet was Mr. Aikman's place, and shortly beyond a stone habitation, the ruins of which have been lately pulled down.

“As near as I have been able to ascertain, the ground on which the city of Hamilton now stands was then owned as follows: Geo. Hamilton, after whom the city was named, owned 200 acres south of the road—which is now King street, and east of James street. Bounding this on the north, and extending from James to Wellington streets, was Hughson's farm, whose name is still preserved in Hughson street. These two farms were bounded on the west by the property of William Wedge; and on the east by the farms of Ephraim and Col. Robert Land. Though these were called ‘farms,’ nothing

grew on them but a low undergrowth, indicative of marshy ground, called 'scrubby oak.' A man named Barns kept tavern in a small frame house on the present corner of King and James streets, and was said to own 100 acres of land somewhere in that part. This old signless frame tavern may be said to have been the germ and beginning of the city of Hamilton. These buildings enumerated, planted in the midst of an unknown forest, like so many islands in an ocean, were all that then was of Stony Creek and Hamilton—a name then unknown as a locality. That part of Hamilton now known as 'Dundurn Castle' was termed the Heights as well as the high land on the other side of the canal. On the grounds around the site of the castle, and in other places entrenchments were cut and trees felled for some distance around, with their branches pointing outward, as a sort of *cheval de-frise*, traces of which may yet be seen in the present cemetery. And behind these entrenchments was Vincent's camp.

"It has been said that the Americans reached Stony Creek late in the afternoon of the 5th of June, 1813. One of the British dragoons who had been stationed a distance below the Creek as a look-out came riding through the hamlet at full gallop, firing his pistol and shouting that the enemy were coming. As he was a notorious liar the alarm was received doubtfully. Another dragoon, John Brady, rode eastward, upon this, to reconnoitre, and ere he had advanced half-a-mile suddenly came upon them. A short distance before him a deer path ran down to the road from the mountain, and this he resolved to gain in the face of the enemy. Putting spurs to his horse, he rode up, screened by the fire of two log heaps that were burning by the road, and firing off his piece at them, darted up the deer path to the mountain. As he wheeled several muskets answered his own shot, but the bullets whistled harmlessly by or struck the intervening trees. Brady climbed the mountain and in less than two hours was at Vincent's camp at Burlington heights. The advance cavalry of the Americans soon pranced up before Brady's tavern, when, among other things, they appropriated the family's bread that

had been freshly baked the same afternoon. The clattering of cavalry hoofs, the clanking of swords, the heavy rattle of the artillery, and the long and strange array of invading soldiers as they filed along the narrow road, struck the few inhabitants of the hamlet with wonder and astonishment. It was soon whispered about among them that a battle was to be fought the next day, and as may be expected the wives and maidens of the vicinity were in great consternation. Arrived at the old church the advance guard encountered Capt. Williams, whom they drove to the west side of the Big Creek. Williams and his men mounted the west bank of the Big Creek and, firing from thence, killed one man and mortally wounded another, who was carried into Davis' tavern. The sun was getting low in the west as the advance and main body found themselves on a piece of high and uneven land surrounded by a dense forest where it was impossible to camp on account of the impenetrable underwood—unless it would be in the contracted limits of the road. Under these circumstances the men were ordered to fall back on Stony Creek. Soon after they were gone an American surgeon was sent to attend the wounded man at Davis'. He seemed in great excitement; swore at the men under his charge for not hurrying to obey his orders, and was sure they would be scalped if they did not get away at once. So the wounded man was tumbled into one of the beds and they rattled off in their wagon, bed and all. It seems he had heard the shouts of Williams' men and imagined them to be Indians. (Without discussing the question of cruelty and savagery practiced by the Indians on both sides during this war it will be proper to mention that the Americans stood in singular dread of the British Indians, and were in constant terror of the scalping knife, to which feeling was owing partly their defeat in this conflict, though, be it remembered, not a solitary Indian was in the battle.) It is related that some of the men on their way back to Stony Creek stopped at a well to drink. One of them said to a comrade, 'I think I will take this piece of land (pointing to a small clearing) when Canada is conquered.' This man was found the next day among the

slain. The poor fellow is still waiting for his farm beneath an appletree that sheds its bloom on each returning 6th of June over the ground where the soldiers were buried.

“A small tributary stream of Stony Creek ran down past Gage’s house, distant about half a mile at that point from the main stream, and was enclosed by a low, level, woodless strip of ground called the ‘flat,’ which was itself walled in on either side by an abrupt bank about ten feet high. The road at this place was not then graded, but pitched immediately down these banks; and it was on the eastern one that Chandler ordered his cannon to be planted, so that they might sweep the road to the west. On each side of the road, near the guns, slept the artillerymen. Immediately in rear of this (Towson’s) artillery, Col. Burns and his cavalry camped. In a cleared field south of the road towards Gage’s house, a body of nearly 2,000 Americans pitched their tents, stretching along and above the bank; 500 lay in a lane in the flat west of the stream and to the right front of the artillery. Archer’s artillery and another body of men occupied a position towards the lake. And finally, in advance of the rest a party of about fifty took possession of the old church. All the settlers in the vicinity were taken and held as prisoners lest they should carry any information to Vincent. Three of them (whose names I could mention) were confined in Lappin’s log cabin, in uncomfortable proximity to the cannon, and a guard placed over them. Chandler, Winder and some of the principal officers occupied Gage’s house (while the family were put down cellar) and used his barn and out-houses as store-rooms for their baggage. The troops were ordered to sleep on their arms that night; the cannon stood in readiness to sweep the road; and full directions were given by Chandler when and how to form in line of battle should any attack be made. Thus for the first time, the tents of a Canadian enemy were spread upon Stony Creek ground, and for the first time the smoke of an enemy’s camp fires arose on Wentworth air. The men took their much-needed supper, and lay down upon their arms weary and exhausted from their long, tiresome day’s march. The noise and bustle of the camp grad-

ually died out, as the men sought their rest, and the darkness closed in. Characteristic of June the night was hot and breezeless, as the day had been clear and sultry. There was no moon; the horizon on all quarters was entombed in a mountain of dark clouds from which the "heat lightning" shot out at intervals, and illuminated the tree-tops with its dull flickering glare. Soon the men were asleep, and the only sounds to be heard were the sullen tread of the sentinels, the distant wail of some bird or animal, and the dying crackle of the camp fires, which revealed indistinctly the grey pyramids around them, and the forms of outlying soldiers.

"Let us now leave the Americans to the slumber which was fated to be so suddenly and abruptly broken, and follow the motions of the British.

"Towards evening Vincent had sent out Col. John Harvey, his deputy-adjutant general, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy. Taking ensigns McKenny and George, two officers of W. H. Merritt's company, he went forward with the light companies of the 49th, and met Williams' company at Big Creek. While Harvey, George and McKenny were ascending the east bank of the creek in advance of the men, they came upon an American with a British prisoner. The American levelled his piece to fire on them, when Harvey called out to the British soldier to seize him, which was no sooner said than the gun was wrested from him, and the captor was captive. Harvey lent his pistol to George Bradshaw, he being without small arms, and the American, whose name was Vanderberg, was conducted by him to the presence of Vincent. The British soldier had strayed from the road in the early part of the day, returned without knowing that the enemy had advanced so far, and was seen and seized. The reconnoitering party now went cautiously forward to a position from which they could view the enemy. Here they saw that the extended line of encampment of the enemy was scantily guarded, and scattered and disconnected, the artillery poorly supported, and the cavalry placed awkwardly in the rear of the artillery. McKenny and George both suggested a night sortie upon them.

Harvey saw at once the feasibility of it and concurred. Harvey has always been looked to as the first who proposed this scheme of night attack, but the honor of it really belongs to these two, McKenny claiming to have spoken of it first (see W. H. M.'s 'Journal'). At night they returned and proposed the night attack to Vincent, who without much deliberation moved to carry it into effect. He acceded to it more readily as he knew full well how very critical his situation was. York was in the grasp of the enemy and an active and powerful fleet was on the lake to oppose him. And should he delay action till the next day an outnumbering army would be on his position at the very time when he had but ninety rounds of ammunition for each man. W. H. Merritt, who understood perfectly well the state of affairs, spoke of it thus: 'All my hopes depended on this bold enterprise, for had we not attacked them they would have advanced the next morning, and in all probability we would have retired without risking an action, as our force was not one-third of theirs. Proctor and the whole upper country would then have fallen.' It was the result, then, of this night attack upon the enemy that was to decide the fate of the western portion of the province.

"An order to move forward startled the sleeping officers and men from the grass whereon they were reposing, and instantly the camp was alive with preparations to march. It was about half-past ten that the last of the brave seven hundred and four who were to honor themselves and their posterity in this daring encounter, disappeared from the waning light of their campfires down the lonely road eastward. Stealthily they took their way beneath the grand wall of trees that rose on either side of the road, and in places arched together overhead, closing them in profound night and darkness. As the little phalanx wound along their sinuous path toward the enemy's encampment not a word was spoken nor a sound of any kind escaped their ranks. On they stole down the west bank of Big Creek, then up the eastern like a train of noiseless ghosts. Just as they arrived at Davis's the slumbering echoes of the woods awoke upon their ears with the sound of a gun, in the very direction of the enemy. The

whole body halted almost without the word of command. This report called for increased caution; some information was gleaned from Davis; and an order went around to have the charges drawn from every gun, lest by some accident they should go off, and perhaps defeat the only scheme by which they could hope for success. They now formed into sections, and with the light companies of the 49th in the van and Vincent at the head of the rear column, they once more proceeded. Their movements were now attended with greater caution, for they were not certain that the report heard was not an alarm at their approach. They arrived in sight of the first sentry at nearly two o'clock on Sunday morning (6th). Col. Harvey, who was to conduct the attack, was in front of the light companies with another man of the 49th, and observed the sentry reclining against a tree which leaned partially over the road about a hundred yards west of the church. I have never been able to discover for a certainty whether the countersign was obtained; or if it was, how it was done. Lossing asserts that it 'was obtained from a treacherous dweller near, who by false pretenses had procured and conveyed it to General Vincent.'

There is a tradition that the statement made by Lossing is not wholly devoid of truth. The person referred to as "a treacherous dweller near," was Mr. Isaac Corman, who then lived on lot 22, in the 3rd concession of Saltfleet. It appears that when the advance pickets of the invading army approached Stony Creek on the afternoon of the 5th of June, they saw a man setting gate posts at the end of the lane leading to his house. They took this man prisoner and marched him to the lake shore where some 1,500 of the Americans were encamped. He was left in charge of an officer who at first treated him with scant courtesy. Hearing this officer speak of Kentucky, he informed him that he too was a Kentuckian. This produced a great change in the bearing of the officer, who after this declaration treated him as a friend and not as a foe. They engaged freely in conversation when Corman told him that he was a cousin of General W. H. Harrison, then commanding the American army in the west, and as boys

they had many a time played together at school. This established confidence, and the officer gave him permission to return to his home. Mr. Corman asked how he was to pass the sentries. The officer, placing the fullest confidence in his integrity, gave him the countersign, and he at once started on his way.

In the meantime Mrs. Corman had become very anxious as to the fate of her husband. While busy with her household cares, who should come in but her youngest brother William, then a young man of 19, and who was afterwards known as "Billy Green the scout." She informed him that her husband had been made a prisoner while at work, and was then in the hands of the Americans. They talked the matter over very earnestly, when young Green determined to make a search for his missing brother-in-law, and if possible find out where he was confined. He started in the direction of the lake shore and was fortunate enough to meet his brother-in-law at Davis' on his way home. Here Corman gave the countersign to young Green, who at once started for his home on the mountain. It was now getting quite dark. After several narrow escapes from being captured by the sentries he reached his home. It is said that on one occasion so completely was he hemmed in that he got down on all fours and trotted across the road like a dog, and made good his escape into the woods. When he reached home, he got a horse from his brother Levi, and followed the bush road by way of Mount Albion as far as the top of the mountain south of Hamilton, where he left his horse with a friend. He then proceeded on foot to Burlington Heights, where he met Col. Harvey and gave him the countersign. Col. Harvey consulted with General Vincent and his brother officers, when they decided to make a night attack on the enemy. Preparations were at once made, and the army began its march to Stony Creek. The weight of evidence fixes the time of this attack as about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 6th of June. It is said that he piloted Col. Harvey and his men on their march through the forests and led the advance at Stony Creek.

The American countersign used on this occasion, so tradition says, consisted of the first syllables of General W. H. Harrison's name, and was given in the following manner: Sentry to stranger,—“Who goes there?” Stranger,—“A friend.” Sentry,—“Approach friend and give the countersign.” The sentry then takes the position of “charge,” and presents the point of his bayonet to the breast of the stranger, and keeps it there until the countersign is given. Stranger at point of bayonet,—“Will.” Sentry,—“Hen.” Stranger,—“Har.” The sentry lowers his musket and allows the stranger to pass.

It seems quite evident that the British authorities had obtained the American countersign from some source, for they not only passed the sentries, but reached the centre of the camp before the Americans were aware of their presence.

Corman, after parting with young Green, continued his journey eastward to his own home. Hearing a noise behind him, he turned to discover the cause, when he was seized by three American soldiers who took him prisoner a second time. They accompanied him home and remained on guard at his house over night. Early next morning news came that the American army was in full retreat. On hearing this the guards forsook their posts and joined their retreating comrades. In their hurry to depart they left some sacks and a soldier's canteen. These articles were kept for many years by the Corman family as mementoes of this visit.

The reader will pardon a slight digression here in order that a brief account of the young man who carried the countersign to Col. Harvey may be given. “Billy Green the scout” was the youngest son of Adam Green who emigrated from New Jersey to Canada in 1792, and settled on the mountain in Saltfleet, a little to the south of Stony Creek. As a boy he shunned companionship, and loved to wander in the woods alone. He was an expert climber, seemed to have no sense of danger, and was perfectly at home in the forests. It is said that he could climb almost any tree, run out on one of its branches, jump across to the limbs of another, and thus go from tree to

tree much as a squirrel does. He was active in movement, quick in decision, very impulsive, and seldom thought of the consequences of any act. Hence he was well fitted for any daring adventure, and seemed to delight in danger of any kind. He differed from the other members of his father's family, and led quite an eventful life. He died in Saltfleet in the 89th year of his age.

Mr. F. G. Snider, of Ancaster, who was then a member of the flank company of the 49th, and took part in the battle of Stony Creek, makes the following statement concerning the manner in which the countersign was obtained: He says,—“A little before 2 o'clock in the morning we drew near the American lines. Col. Harvey sent two men forward to reconnoitre while the main body halted. They were challenged by the first sentry. One of them replied to the challenge and said, “A friend.” The sentry said, “Approach friend and give the countersign.” The man challenged did not have the countersign, but he approached, and when the sentry presented the point of the bayonet to his breast, leaned forward to whisper the countersign, got past the point of the bayonet, grasped the sentry by the throat, and threw him down, when his companion came up, presented a pistol to his head, and ordered him to give the countersign or die. The disarmed sentry gave the countersign, and was taken prisoner. The second sentry was approached and the challenge given. This was answered as in the former case by the two men, and the countersign found to be correct. In the meantime the British had advanced, and the pickets, seeing there was no hope for them, gave up their arms. They then approached the old Methodist church and found that the two generals—Chandler and Winder—were sleeping within; they were secured as prisoners, and the British advanced to the centre of the camp, when the battle began in earnest.”

Continuing his narrative Mr. Biggar says:

“In contradiction to this a ‘49th man’ gives his printed testimony as follows: ‘I had been driven in that afternoon from Stony Creek, and was well acquainted with the ground.

The cautious silence observed [speaking of their march down] was most painful: not a whisper was permitted; even our footsteps were not allowed to be heard. I shall never forget the agony caused to the senses by the stealthiness with which we proceeded to the midnight slaughter. I was not aware that any other force accompanied us than the Grenadiers, and when we approached near the creek I ventured to whisper to Col. Harvey, 'We are close to the enemy's camp, sir!' 'Hush! I know it,' was his reply. Shortly after, a sentry challenged; Dieu, Danford and the leading section rushed forward and killed him with their bayonets; his bleeding corpse was cast aside, and we moved on with breathless caution. A second challenge 'Who comes there?'—another rush, and the poor sentinel is transfixed, but his agonized groans alarmed a third who stood near the watch fire; he challenged and immediately fired and fled.' Not a moment was now to be lost. Harvey, whose plans had been perfectly organized before starting, instantly ordered his men to deploy into line. He and Col. Fitzgibbon took the road straight ahead: Major Plenderleth swept round to the left, and Major Ogilvie with a party of the 49th opened to the right. In the meantime the sentry at the church door had been approached in the shade of the trees and killed, and the whole party—who were lying in all parts of the church with their heads peacefully pillowed on their coats and boots—were made prisoners. The excitement of the men, wrought by subdued silence, was now at its greatest intensity. With wild and terrific yells they burst with fixed bayonets into the flats upon the astonished Americans. The frenzied outburst of voices seemed to fairly shake the woods; and in the next short minute the whole flats and the opposite hill was a scene of crazy commotion and disorder. The five hundred in the lane flew madly to the hill, leaving their blankets, knapsacks and some of their arms behind. The British halted at the deserted camp-fires of the enemy to load their guns and replace their flints, which some of them had taken out for safety. While this was being done, Col. Fitzgibbon rushed up to the cannon, saw that the artillerymen were not yet by them, hur-

ried back and ordered the captain of the first company to charge upon them. The company was at once on the double-quick march in the face of the guns; but hardly had they gone twenty feet before a man sprang to touch off one of the cannons. It hung fire; the captain yelled to his men to 'break off from the centre or they would all be killed,' but the words had no more than gone from his lips when the thundering explosion came, and, not his men, but the captain himself and two of his officers lay dead in the road. By this time the Americans had somewhat recovered from their first confusion, and while the British were still loading, the dark hill, for nearly a half-mile in extent, was suddenly illuminated with a crashing volley. It was a grand and awful sight; none but those who actually witnessed it can form a true conception of the ghastly sublimity of the spectacle. Following the dreadful flash and crash came a silence yet more impressive, broken through by the clinking of ramrods and groans of the wounded and dying. Now an ominous 'click click-click!' rattles along the gloomy hill, succeeded by another echoing roar of musketry, and a shock of artillery; and again the trees, the tents, and everything about lives as in a momentary day; and again the whizzing bullets are followed by moans and dying words. But now the flashes came from the flats also, and from simultaneous volleys the firing runs into an incessant roar, the hill and the valley are continuous sheets of living flame, and the sky is bright with the glare. The guard at the cabin door near the foot of the hill had fled with the rest, and now directly in the face of the fire the four men who had been confined therein ran excitedly towards the British. Strange to tell, they reached the lines in perfect safety. Then again the bayonets are fixed and the British dash forward; in rushing through they get confused, but Plenderleth rallies them, and on towards the cannons they push; up the hill they spring, and

'Flash'd all their sabres bare,
Flash'd as they turned in air,
Sabring the gunners there,
Charging an army, when
All the world wondered.'

“Three cannons and tumbrels, with thirty men and one of the generals, were taken in the fierce charge by Plenderleth. Ogilvie had charged up towards Gage’s, and had captured the other general while coming out of the house. At about the same time the two American generals were lost to their men, Vincent was lost to the British, and was supposed to be killed or wounded. Under these circumstances Col. Burns became leader of the Americans, and Harvey assumed command of the British. The 49th were on the hill pressing onward when Burns’ cavalry assailed them, cut through the ranks, and drove them back down the hill. In changing so rapidly their positions at this time, the opposing sides became mixed, and more confusion prevailed. In this state of affairs nearly fifty of the 49th British regiment were taken prisoners, and a number of Americans were also taken by the British. The Americans now began to retire, which they did without pursuit. As it was getting daylight, Harvey thought it prudent to retire too, as day would soon discover to the enemy the insufficiency of his force and probably incite them to renew a conflict which he was not able to keep up. As soon as day began to break, Capt. Merritt was sent down to ascertain, if possible, what had become of the missing general. He arrived at the scene of the midnight carnage, and was viewing over the ground not thinking of the enemy, when he was accosted by an American sentinel under Gage’s house with ‘Who goes there?’ At this unexpected challenge he was about to surrender, as both his pistols were in the holsters, when he bethought himself of a ruse, and turning to the sentinel, and riding towards him inquired, ‘Who placed you there?’ Supposing him to be one of their own officers, the sentinel returned that he was put there by his captain who had just gone into the house with a party of men. The captain then asked him if he had found the British general yet, at the same time pulling out his pistol. At the sight of the weapon leveled at him, the sentinel dropped his gun and gave himself up. Just then a man, without any gun, ran down the hill. Capt. Merritt called him and he obeyed the summons. Thus securing the two prisoners unob-

served by the party of men in the house, he took them off to the Heights, but found no trace of Vincent. A large body of the enemy reappeared on the battle field between seven and eight o'clock, and proceeded to destroy the provisions, carriages, spare arms, blankets, etc., which they could not take, and then retreated, leaving their own dead to be buried by the British. As they passed from the scene of their discomfiture, their band struck up the then popular air, 'In My Cottage near the Wood,' and to this lively tune the disordered army left the hamlet of Stony Creek forever.

"They did not halt till they reached the Forty Mile Creek, where they encamped over night. But Sir James Yeo having sailed from Kingston on the 3rd, with his squadron for the purpose of annoying the enemy at the head of the lake, appeared off this creek at daylight of the 7th. Being becalmed, it was impossible to get within range with the large vessels, but the schooners Beresford and Sidney Smith were tugged up and commenced fire. This added to a panic caused by some Indians appearing on the brow of the mountain, and firing into the camp, caused the Americans (now reinforced by Generals Lewis and Boyd) to break camp and retreat to Fort George, leaving behind 500 tents, 100 stand of arms, 140 barrels of flour, and about 70 wounded men, who were duly taken care of. But the Americans met a severer loss in the destruction and capture of all the batteaux that were in co-operation with the land forces. Twelve of them were taken with all their contents by the Beresford, and the residue of five driven on shore, where their crews deserted them, and joined the flying army. .

"When Capt. Merritt returned to camp without the General, George Bradshaw and John Brant (a half-brother to the celebrated Joseph Brant) started again in search. They met him emerging from a side path, arrayed in a borrowed hat and on a borrowed horse. He had lost himself, he said, in the woods while the battle was going on; and in the general excitement lost hat, sword, and horse. On his return to camp he was greeted with loud cheers from his men, who had almost given him up as killed or taken prisoner.¹

(1) See Col. Harvey's letter of the 6th of June in the last chapter.

“ The following is the statement given in an American account (Lossing’s) as the return of killed and wounded at Stony Creek: the British had 23 killed, 100 wounded, and 55 missing. The Americans had 17 killed, 38 wounded, and 99 missing.

“ Somewhat at variance with this is Vincent’s official report, which says: ‘ The action terminated before daylight, when three guns and one brass howitzer, with three tumbrels, two Brigadier-Generals, Chandler and Winder, first and second in command, and upwards of 100 officers and privates remained in our hands. * * * It would be an act of injustice were I to omit assuring your Excellency, that gallantry and discipline were never more conspicuous than during our late short action; and I feel the greatest satisfaction in assuring you that every officer and individual seemed anxious to rival each other in his efforts to support the honor of His Majesty’s arms, and to maintain the high character of British troops. * * General return of killed, wounded, and missing: 1 lieutenant, 3 sergeants, 19 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 5 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 adjutant, 1 fort-major, 9 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 113 rank and file, wounded; 3 sergeants, and 52 rank and file, missing.’ A veteran, John Lee, who assisted in burying the dead, *counted them himself*, disagrees with both, and affirms that there were buried that day sixty-one men of both sides.

“ This loss in a half-hour’s fight made a large gulf in 704 men. The severe loss on the British side is easily accounted for in the fact that they were exposed to the light of the camp fires where they suffered fearfully before they were prepared to return the fire. From the position of the dead and wounded next morning it was known that they lost as much from those two first volleys as in all the rest of the fight. Most of the Americans were wounded with bayonets. All the honor of this sharp and effectual repulse of an enemy outnumbering them four to one, is due to the decision, energy and judgment of Col. Harvey as the leader of a brave, active and faithful band of men.

“ Many came the next day to witness the scene of the engagement. Men, horses, guns, swords and baggage were strewn on every part of the ground. The old church was shattered and riddled with balls in every part, and wore its marks of ill-usage down to the year 1820. The bodies of the dead were conveyed on an old wood sleigh to their graves, the settlers of the neighborhood assisting in the mournful task. Part of them were buried where some of them had slept, but the night before—on a projecting point of the hill east of the creek and a little distance north of the present road. The others—without distinction of country—slumber in the graveyard close to the spot whereon the old church stood. No stone is yet erected to perpetuate their memory or designate their sleeping place; but rebuking the descendants, two apple-trees stand patient sentinels over them, and as each sixth of June rolls round, shake the snowy laurels from their own heads to perfume and hallow their anniversary day! As their lives were arduous and warlike, so let their slumbers be light and peaceful—both friends and foes—and when they wake to the notes of the last, final bugle call, may they find the honored place in Paradise given to those who spend their life and blood in the good and noble cause of Country! ”



CHAPTER X.

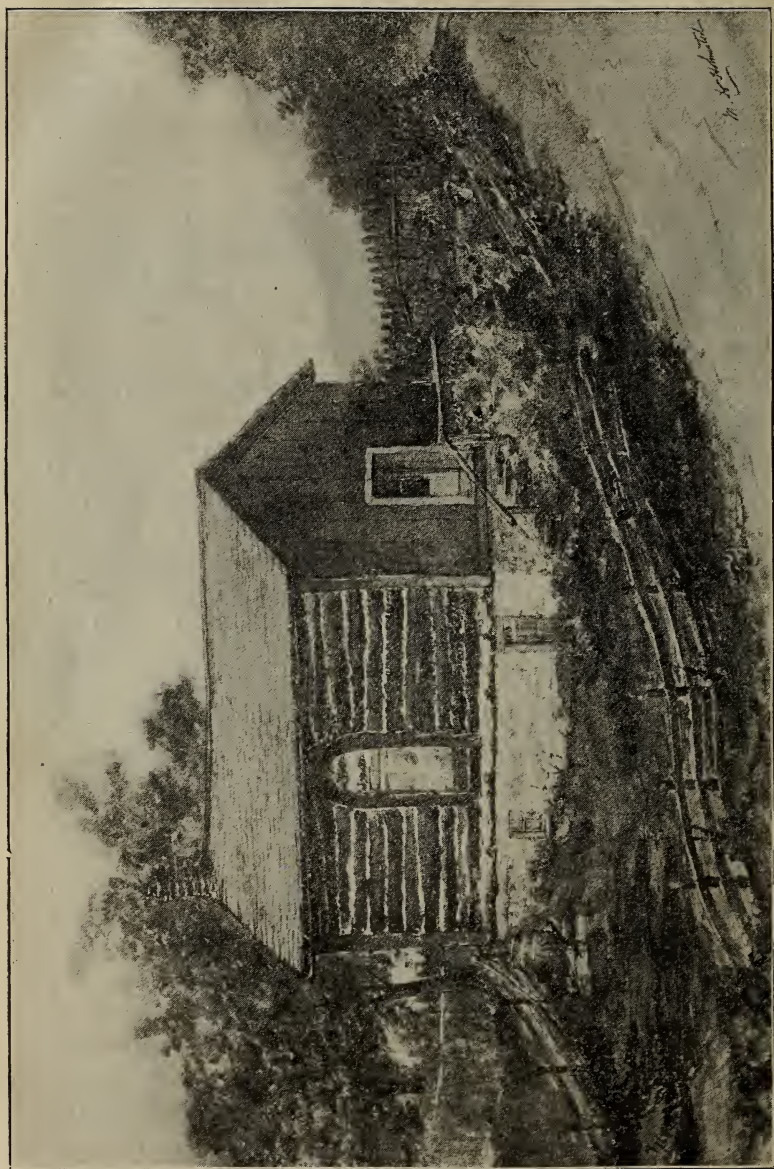
Wm. Bates' Letter — Note of Hand — Berlin Decree — First Order-in-Council — Letter from Col. Harvey Vindicating General Vincent — General Hull's Proclamation — Sir Isaac Brock's Proclamation.

WILLIAM BATES' LETTER.

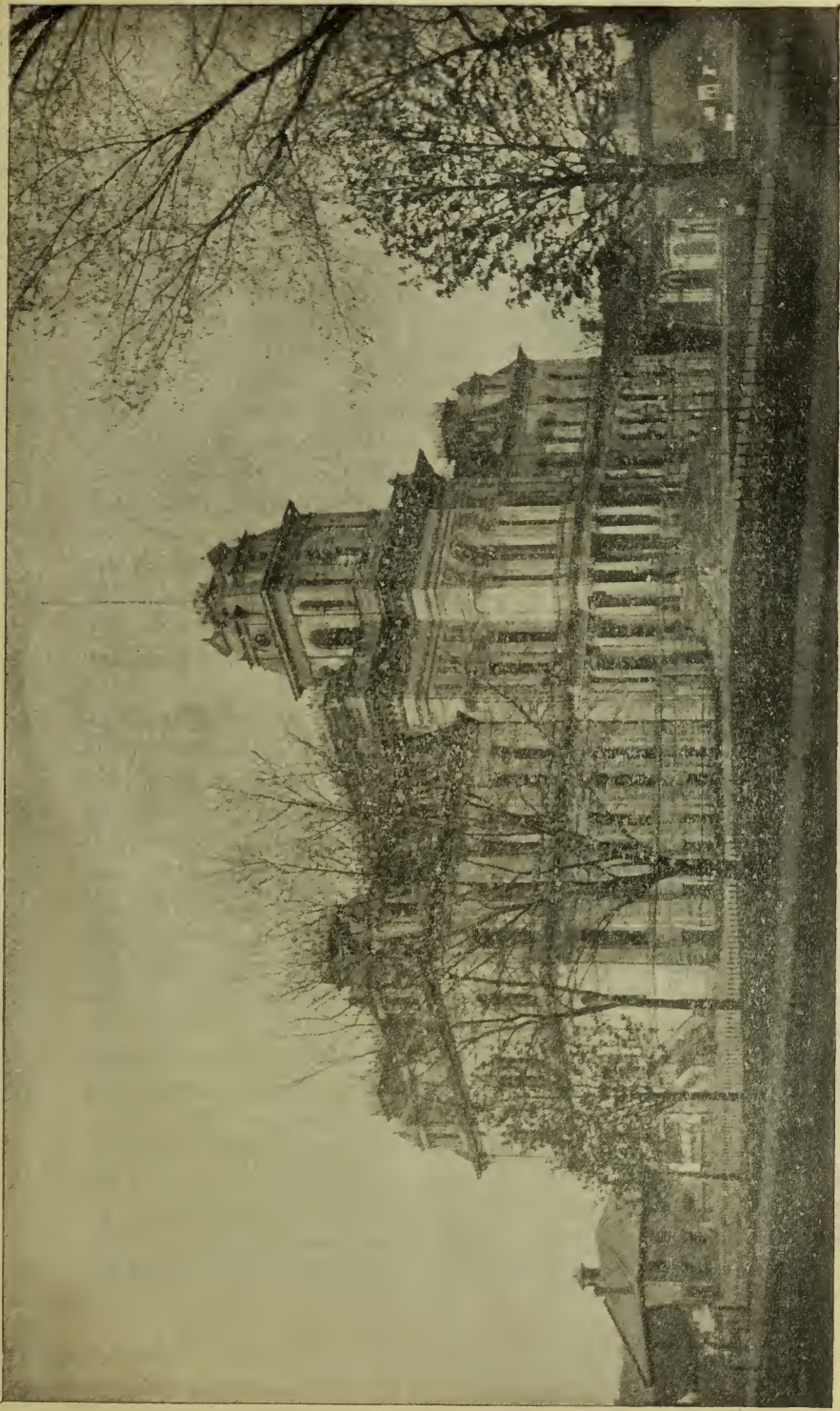
“HEAD OF LAKE ONTARIO, Sept. 14th, 1799.

“DEAR AUGUSTUS,—

“I wrote you some time ago but haven't had any chance to send it. I received a letter from brother Jonathan and one from Mr. Blain, by Samuel Jarvis' wife. Mr. Blain wrote that he should set out for this place in about four weeks from the date of his letter—the last of July. I shall look for him soon. Jonathan offers to send me Brazon, if I thought it would answer. I have a plenty of grain and hay, and must have him by all means, but the trick is to get him here. I would be glad of his saddle and bridle with him. I have written to Jonathan to go to the post office at Albany. He will get his letter as soon as you get this. If you have the least thought of moving into this province to live, it would be well for you to conclude—the sooner the better. The new Governor is likely to make great alterations for the better. He was much displeased with the conduct of the administration of the government. He said they took better care of themselves than they did of the inhabitants, and was much displeased with their having 100 acre lots joining the town, and not leaving it as a commons for a town privilege. He has promised the inhabitants that when he returns in the spring, that he will see that they shall be provided with lands for a commons, that if those who owned the 100 acre lots joining the town would not give them up for a commons, he would build a block house on each of them and make it King's land, which he had a right to do. He also found fault with their neglecting to encourage ministers in the



THE FIRST COURT HOUSE.
Reproduced from a painting by Mrs. Holmsted, of Dundas, by kind permission of His Honor Judge Snider.



THE PRESENT COURT HOUSE.

settlements, and said that he would give every indulgence to ministers from the States that would choose to come and reside here. He said that if any person that knew a minister in the States, of good character, who wished to come in, to let him know and he would get the Bishop's approbation immediately, that it was his wish to have such ministers for two reasons, viz. : it helped to unite with the States, and would be likely to give great satisfaction to the parishioners, and secondly, a clergyman from England would be likely to be above himself, wishing to live in the English style, which could not be supported in this new country. I am of the opinion that he will make great alterations for the better. Mathews was at my house this week, and was enquiring about you. He says that the barracks and a block house are to be built in front of his house, which will make the stand more valuable to have the garrison so near the town. I wish you would make it convenient to come, and bring Brazon with you. If you haven't sold your horses, and they are in good order, they will fetch £70. Weeks has sold his horses for £85. I have keeping, and will keep them till you can make sale of them, for nothing. Cattle are still high. Cows fetch £10. I sold a yoke of oxen a few days ago for \$100 in hand. I want you here to make out well. To my mind this is as good a stand for trade as is in the country. I have reason to believe that I can have a store of goods for asking for it. Colonel Smith said he felt disposed to help me, and if I did not get this place to my mind, then he would give me a good chance on his farm nine mile from town, and would set me up with goods and potash kettles to do business. It is my opinion you can't do better than to come here and see for your own satisfaction, and judge for yourself. If you should come and like to move by sleighing, I have room enough, and will provide you with provisions for a year, and will be able to do it within myself. I am at a loss what to say to you, not knowing your intentions. Tell your wife that I am sure she would be pleased with this situation, and I hope that won't prevent. I think I may expect to see you here soon, and will lay in salmon for your family, as now is the season. I am go-

ing to the Credit to get my winter store, never was finer at ten for a dollar, that weigh fifteen pounds each. If you come this fall, I shall be able to treat you to roast duck till you are tired. They have just come, and the rice is just ripe, which will make them very fat. If what I have said won't move you, I don't know what will. I have not seen Mr. Barton since I left you, nor heard from him since I wrote to you before. I hear he is doing well. I think you have heard from him since I have. Weeks talks of not going down this fall. You may tell Mr. Street that I have not spoken to Dr. Allen about his note, for this reason, I was at his house, and found his circumstances such that it was not convenient for him to pay till fall. He has 30 acres of wheat that is very good, and 40 acres of corn planted which will enable him to pay, and if he is not willing, I know which way to make him, so I look upon the debt to be safe, and will get it this winter. You must give my respects to Dr. Thompson. Tell him I have not got the pay for the harness to spare yet, but have not forgot his favor. I want you to get my mill irons and still to Schenectady, and I can get them from there any time. If you can get them there soon, they can be brought to me this fall, which would be of great consequence to me. The mill irons will fetch £80 a set. The still can be put to immediate use. They would clear a £100 this season. I have not time to write Alexander Thompson. Tell him he may depend on good encouragement in his gristing, and if he will come I will engage him for what will pay his expenses. He must not fail of coming with you, and ride one of your horses, and Crosswell the other. I think there is no doubt of Crosswell getting what he can do. I shall be looking for you with your aides-de-camps. Mr. Blain informed me that the yellow fever had made its appearance, which I am sorry for. I have nothing to say about politics, as they are scarcely heard of here. We have peace and plenty. All of my family are getting better. Should John Lamb not have got his pay, nor sold the mill irons, if he will send them to me, I will get the money for him. If his clover seed were here it would fetch the cash. Harry is sick with the fever and

ague. It is uncertain when he will set out for home. He was to have set out in this month but the ague will prevent. Mr. Chisholm is still sick. It is uncertain when he will be able to go home. The enclosed letter to William Chisholm you will forward to him, as he wishes an answer soon. Should you come, bring me in a good beef or two, and I will pay you well for them. I will engage you £10 at the least. You must take what I have written in this letter. I have not room nor time to say much more. I send you a sample of the wild rice, which is plentiful here. There are 50 acres within one mile of this that would produce 20 bushels per acre if it could be saved. My respects to Mr. Beers and to the Rev. Mr. Chase, and to all friends. Becky joins with me in love to you and Betsy and the children. Should you not come give your assistance in sending Brazon and you will much oblige.

“Your loving brother,

“WILLIAM BATES.”

“Mr. Augustus Bates,

“Thorpsfield, County of Delaware,

“and State of New York.”

Evidently Mr. Bates sold his still, as the following promissory note shows :

“For value received I promise to pay Thomas Mears fifteen pounds seven shillings and three pence, New York currency, (it being money advanced and expenses paid on two stills belonging to William Bates) within two months from the date. Witness my hand, Saltfleet, January 8th, 1801.

“(Signed),

AUGUSTUS BATES.”

BERLIN DECREE.

“1. The British islands are placed in a state of blockade.
2. Every species of commerce and communication with them is prohibited; all letters or packets addressed in English, or in the English characters, shall be seized at the post-office, and interdicted all circulation. 3. Every British subject, of what

rank or condition whatever, who shall be found in the countries occupied by our troops, or those of our allies, shall be made prisoners of war. 4. Every warehouse, merchandise, or property of any sort, belonging to a subject of Great Britain, or coming from its manufactories or colonies, is declared good prize. 5. Commerce of every kind in English goods is prohibited; and every species of merchandise belonging to England, or emanating from its workshops or colonies, is declared good prize. 6. The half of the confiscated value shall be devoted to indemnifying those merchants whose vessels have been seized by the English cruisers, for the losses which they have sustained. 7. No vessel coming directly from England, or any of its colonies, or having touched there since the publication of the present decree, shall be received into any harbour. 8. Every vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall have effected such entry, shall be liable to seizure, and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated, as if they had also belonged to England. 9. The prize court of Paris is intrusted with the determination of all questions arising out of this decree in France, or the countries occupied by our armies; that of Milan, with the decision of all similar questions in the Kingdom of Italy. 10. This decree shall be communicated to the kings of Spain, Naples, Holland and Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects have been the victims, like our own, of the injustice and barbarity of English legislation. 11. The ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of marine, of finance, and of justice, of police, and all postmasters, are charged, each in his own department, with the execution of the present decree."

BRITISH ORDER-IN-COUNCIL.

"At the Court at the Queen's Palace, January 7, 1807.

"PRESENT,

"The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas the French Government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to

prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his majesty's dominions; and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country in any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and whereas the said Government has also taken upon itself to declare all his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports, by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy; and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part to restrain this violence, and to return upon them the evils of their own injustice; his majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, and no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable

time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his majesty's orders which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. And his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lord's commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of vice admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

“W. FAWKENER.”

COLONEL HARVEY'S LETTER.

“BURLINGTON HEIGHTS, Sunday, 6th June, 1813.

“MY DEAR COLONEL :

“The enemy having dared to pursue (as he arrogantly termed it) this division by moving a corps of 3,500 men with four field guns, and 150 cavalry, to Stony Creek (within ten miles of this position), I strongly urged General Vincent to make a forward movement for the purpose of breaking up this encampment. In the course of yesterday afternoon, our advance posts (at Davis', eight miles from here towards Forty-mile Creek), consisting of the light company of 49th regiment, was driven in. I instantly went out for the purpose of reconnoitering, and found the enemy had again withdrawn to his camp at Stony Creek. I therefore recommended to the general to move the five companies of the King's (say 280) and the 49th regiment (say 424)—total, 704 men—which was accordingly done at half-past eleven o'clock. General Vincent accompanied these troops, the conduct and direction of which he was so good to give me. The troops moved in perfect order and profound silence; the light companies of the 49th and King's in front, the 49th regiment in the centre, and the King's as a reserve. In conformity with directions I had given, the sentries at the outside of the enemy's camp were bayoneted in the quietest manner, and the camp immediately stormed. The surprise was tolerably complete, but our troops incautiously advancing and charging across the line of the camp fires, and a few muskets being fired (notwithstanding my exertions to

check it), our line was distinctly seen by the enemy, whose troops in some degree recovered from the panic, and formed upon the surrounding heights, poured a destructive fire of musketry upon us, which was answered on our part by repeated charges whenever a body of the enemy could be discovered or reached. The King's regiment and part of the 49th charged and carried the four field pieces in very gallant style, and the whole sustained with undaunted firmness the heavy fire which was occasionally poured upon them.

"In less than three-quarters of an hour the enemy had completely abandoned his guns and everything else to us. Our loss has been severe, but that of the enemy much more so. Our trophies, besides the three guns and howitzers (two of the guns, by-the-bye, were spiked by us and left on the ground for want of means of removing them), are two brigadier-generals, one field officer, three captains, one lieutenant and about 100 men prisoners.

"General Vincent, being too much hurried and fatigued to write to-day, has desired me to forward to you with this letter the returns of killed and wounded, as well as those of the prisoners and ordinances retaken. The brigadier-general's dispatch will be forwarded to-morrow. In the meantime he desires me to congratulate his Excellency on the complete and brilliant success of the enterprise, and on the beneficial results with which it has already been attended. Information has just been received that the enemy has entirely abandoned his camp, burnt his tents, destroyed his provisions, ammunition, etc., and retired precipitately towards the Forty-mile creek. Our advance party occupy the ground on which his camp stood.

"I am, my dear colonel, very faithfully, etc., yours,

"(Signed) J. HARVEY, Lieut-Col., D. A. G."

"P. S.—This is sent by Capt. Milner, who proceeds with Brigadier-Generals Chandler and Winder, and who, from having been present both in the action of this day and that of the 27th ultimo, and all the intermediate operations, is perfectly

qualified to give his Excellency every satisfactory information on those subjects. (Signed) J. H.

"The circumstances in which I write will, I hope, excuse this hasty and inaccurate scrawl, of which, moreover, I have no copy."

Col. Harvey's letter was evidently intended to be an official dispatch to the Governor-General, as it was written at Gen. Vincent's request, and has the following direction written over the date-line: "Pray forward the enclosed to His Ex——y the first opportunity."

HULL'S PROCLAMATION.

"Inhabitants of Canada.

"After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The Army under my command has *invaded your country*, and the standard of Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceful, unoffending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

"Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct—you have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask you to avenge the one, or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity—that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—

that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any country.

“ In the name of my country, and by the authority of Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations, raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I am prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interests and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation! *No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian, will be taken prisoner; instant destruction will be his lot.* If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no right, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will (not) doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty and security—your choice lies between these, and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but

choose wisely; and may He, who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interest, your peace and happiness.

“W. HULL,

“H. Q. Sandwich,
“July 8th, 1812.

“By the General, A. P. Hull,
“Captain of 13th, U. S. Regt.
“of Infantry and Aid de Camp.”

BROCK'S PROCLAMATION.

“The unprovoked declaration of War, by the United States of America, against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies, has been followed by the actual invasion of this Province, in a remote frontier of the Western District, by a detachment of the armed force of the United States. The officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite His Majesty's subjects, not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his Government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American commander to the people of Upper Canada, on the administration of His Majesty, every inhabitant of the Province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander, in the review of his own particular circumstances. Where is the Canadian subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the Government in his person, his liberty, or his property? Where is to be found in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity, as this colony exhibits? Settled not thirty years, by a band of veterans, exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who, under the fostering liberality of their Sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the Government, or the persevering industry of

the people, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured to its colonies a safe access to every market where the produce of their labor was in demand.

“The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a separation from Great Britain, must be the loss of this inestimable advantage; and what is offered you in exchange? to become a territory of the United States, and share with them that exclusion from the ocean which the policy of their present government enforces—you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence, and it is but too obvious, that once exchanged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom, you must be re-annexed to the dominion of France, from which the Provinces of Canada were wrested by the arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive but to *relieve* her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel neighbor; this restitution of Canada to the Empire of France, was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted colonies, now the United States; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration of commercial advantage, or rather for an expected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the commercial world. Are you prepared, Inhabitants of Upper Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to the Despot who rules the Nations of Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King’s regular forces, to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest inheritance of this Earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons.

“The same spirit of justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of zeal and loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle; every Canadian freeholder, is by deliberate choice, bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the monarchy as well as his own property; to shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven: let no man suppose that if in this unex-

pected struggle, His Majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, that the Province will be eventually abandoned; the endeared relation of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States, and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these Provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

"Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the commander of the enemy's forces, to refuse quarter should an Indian appear in the ranks. The brave bands of natives which inhabit this colony, were, like His Majesty's subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity, by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by His Majesty with lands of superior value in this Province; the faith of the British government has never yet been violated, they feel that the soil they inherit is to them and to their posterity protected from base arts so frequently devised to overreach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different from that of the white people, is more terrific to the enemy, let him retrace his steps—they seek him not—and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army; but they are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemy's camp a ferocious and mortal foe, using the warfare which the American commander affects to reprobate.

"This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter for such a cause as being found in arms with a brother sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of war in this part of the King's Dominions, but in every quarter of the globe, for the national character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as de-



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HISTORICAL SKETCH.

liberative murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.

"ISAAC BROCK,

"Maj. Gen. and President.

"Head Quarters, Fort George, 22nd July, 1812.

"By order of His Honor the President,

"J. B. Glegg, Capt. A. D. C."

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"FOOLS' COLLEGE."